

Khalid Mourigh and Maarten Kossmann

An Introduction to Tarifiyt Berber  
(Nador, Morocco)

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 About this book

Tarifiyt is a Berber language spoken in north-eastern Morocco. The autonym is *tmazixt* (or Tamazight), which can be used for any Berber language or, more specifically, *tarifeš*. In this *Introduction to Tarifiyt Berber*, we present the main structures of the variety of the agglomeration of Nador, the largest city in the region. The specific dialect presented here is that of *Iqeřiyen* (or Guelaïa) in Zeghanghane (Azyenyan, also known as Segangan), as spoken by one of the authors. Even though there exist important linguistic differences within Tarifiyt, we have decided to focus on one variety only, and to abstain from any reference to others. We prefer this over a presentation that would point to smaller (and occasionally larger) variations at virtually every point in the grammar (for information on dialectal variation, see Lafkioui 2007). One may note that Nador Tarifiyt features seem to be spreading in the region (e.g. the use of the past tense marker *tuya* instead of *dža*), pointing to a certain prestige, so from this point of view, focusing on this specific variant does not seem to be completely arbitrary.

This book consists of a grammatical sketch, texts, and a vocabulary that lists the words used in the preceding parts. We envisage a readership with a basic knowledge of linguistics, who want to learn more about the language and its structures. The book is not meant to be a language course (for which one could use Hassan Yahia 2013), nor is it meant to provide a full-fledged grammatical analysis.

In writing this *Introduction*, we have drawn extensively on existing literature, especially the 1979 thesis by Mohammed Chami. Based on essentially the same dialect as described by us, it provides an overview of the phonology and morphology of *Iqeřiyen* Tarifiyt. In a similar vein, the studies by Kaddour Cadi (1987; 2006) on *Iqeřiyen* verbal syntax provided important input. The same is of course true for other works on Tarifiyt, like those by Mena Lafkioui, even though the different dialectal grounding of most of these studies implies more divergence. For the examples, we have based ourselves sometimes on the Tarifiyt texts published in Maarten Kossmann's *De menseneetster* (Kossmann 2004), which contains stories from the same region, although none from *Iqeřiyen* proper. The sentences were checked by Khalid Mourigh and adapted to his dialect where necessary.

## 1.2 Berber

Tarifiyt is part of the Berber language family, one of the branches of the Afroasiatic (or Hamito-Semitic) language phylum. Berber languages are spoken in a large, but discontinuous area ranging from the Atlantic coast to western Egypt, and from the Mediterranean to the Niger river. There exists a large

body of literature on individual Berber languages and on their shared features (see 1.7). For general overviews, one can consult Basset (1952); Galand (1992; 2010); and Kossmann (2012).

Berber languages share much of their basic grammatical structures, and a large part of their basic vocabulary, but also show a high degree of differentiation. To a large degree, the Berber language family can be described as a dialect continuum. This means that, from a bird eye's view, varieties are so different that there is every reason to consider them different languages. On the other hand, when trying to establish unambiguous linguistic boundaries, one is bound to fail. With very few exceptions, neighboring varieties are mutually intelligible, and even though there are some salient linguistic borders, they are not strong enough to block the diffusion of linguistic innovations. In Berber studies, this situation has led to the opinion that Berber is one single language with some dialectal variation, an idea that is embraced by Berber cultural and nationalist movements. In practice, this seems to exaggerate the similarities, as, in our subjective assessment, differences are comparable to the differences found within the Germanic or within the Romance language family.

The dialect continuum makes counting the number of Berber languages and any attempt at subclassification extremely problematic. In the following, the most important Berber varieties will be listed in a geographical fashion.

Mauritania: Zenaga (a highly endangered language, very different from all other Berber varieties)

Morocco: Tashelhiyt (SW Morocco)  
Central Moroccan Berber (aka Tamazight, Middle Atlas Berber)  
Tarifiyt (NE Morocco)

In addition, there are two varieties in northwestern Morocco, Senhaja de Sraïr and Ghomara, that are quite different both from Central Moroccan Berber and Tarifiyt.

Algeria: Western Algerian dialects (mostly endangered)  
Kabyle (NE Algeria)  
Chaouia (NE Algeria)  
Northern Saharan oases

Tunisia: Djerba and a number of villages in southern Tunisia (highly endangered)

Libya: Djebel Nefusa and Zuara (western Libya)  
A number of oasis dialects

Egypt: Siwa

In addition, the Tuaregs also speak a Berber language. They mostly live in Niger and Mali, but also, in smaller numbers, in Burkina Faso, Algeria, and Libya.

Tarifiyt is linguistically closest to its neighbors to the south-east and east: western Algerian dialects, Central Moroccan varieties from the northeastern part of the Middle Atlas (Ayt Warayn, Ayt Seghrushen), and the north-Saharan oasis dialect of Figuig in eastern Morocco.

### 1.3 Tarifiyt

Tarifiyt refers to the Berber varieties as spoken in the eastern half of northern Morocco, in and around the mountains and hills that form the Rif, the mountain range that borders the Mediterranean coast. The exact delimitation of Tarifiyt differs from author to author. The differences mostly concern the status of the easternmost (Beni Iznasen and Kebdana), and the westernmost varieties (Senhaja de Sraïr, Ketama). An elaborate dialectometric analysis undertaken by Mena Lafkioui (among others Lafkioui 2011: 176–191) shows that there is a major divide between the Tarifiyt varieties around Al Hoceima (Ayt Weryaghel, Ayt Ammart) and those more to the east, including the Iqeřeyen variety that is the subject of this book. This conclusion concurs well with the observation that native speakers of Iqeřeyen Tarifiyt have little (if any) problems in understanding neighboring varieties such as Ayt Seid, while it demands some more effort to understand the Tarifiyt spoken by members of the Ayt Weryaghel group.

Tarifiyt (*tarifešt* in Iqeřeyen Berber) is a regular feminine form of *arifi* (plural: *irifiyen*) 'Riffian'; in Berber, language names are always formed by means of the feminine. In modern usage, *irifiyen* usually refers to all Berber-speaking inhabitants of north-eastern Morocco, with the possible exception of the westernmost and the easternmost groups. Traditionally, its use is more restricted, and the Iqeřeyen are not included in this denomination. Nowadays, both the wider and the narrower meaning of the term are current in the region. The traditional name of the language is *tmazixt* (Tamazight), a term that is widely used, albeit in different forms, among Berber-speaking groups all over northern Africa. Tarifiyt, as a linguistic term, is a new coinage, developed when it became more and more relevant to distinguish it from other Berber varieties.

Morocco is a multilingual country. The majority of the population speaks Moroccan Arabic (*dariža*) as their native language, a variant of Arabic that is different from the official standard as well as from Arabic vernaculars in other countries. Berber is spoken by about a quarter to a third of the Moroccan population,<sup>1</sup> but almost everybody is bilingual in Moroccan Arabic. The official language of the country is Standard Arabic. In addition, Berber has been recognized recently as an official language, but written Berber is little used in official contexts. French still plays a major role in the country as the language of business and sciences. In the Rif, Spanish has been very important. Different

<sup>1</sup> According to the 2014 census, 26% of the Moroccan population uses Berber ("langue utilisée"). The definition of "utiliser" is unclear, and, in view of the lack of prestige of Berber among many of its speakers, this is undoubtedly an underestimation of the real number of Berber speakers in the country. Data retrieved in February 2017 from the website of the Haut-Commissariat au Plan (<http://rgphentableaux.hcp.ma/>).

from most of Morocco, the Mediterranean coast was occupied by the Spanish from 1912–1956, and this colonial heritage still lingers on. Moreover, Spanish is the official language of the enclave of Melilla, about 14 kilometers from Nador.

According to the most recent census data, Tarifiyt is spoken by 4.0 % of the Moroccan population, which amounts to about 1.35 million people. One may add to this number sizeable communities outside Morocco, especially in the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Spain. Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Berber has gained official recognition as a national language of Morocco, and educational programs have been initiated. Official and educational uses of Berber work with a newly standardized variant, composed from elements of all Moroccan Berber varieties. As such, this standard Berber, especially its written form, is incomprehensible to a speaker of Tarifiyt, especially as Arabic loanwords – which are very frequent in Tarifiyt – have been replaced by forms from other Berber varieties, or by new coinages.

In addition to writings in standard Berber, Tarifiyt also functions as a language of written literature. Literary productions in Tarifiyt were first published in the early 1990s, both in Morocco and in the Netherlands. Over the last 25 years a considerable number of works – mostly poetry and short stories – has appeared (for a recent bibliography, see Ḥamdāwī 2013).

In spite of the quantity and quality of these works, it seems that their wider impact is rather low; as one cultural activist put it – with ironic exaggeration –, there are more people who write Tarifiyt than people who read it. On the other hand, in the spoken realm, Tarifiyt is very present. There exists a large number of singers who perform in Tarifiyt, there are a couple of soap series in Tarifiyt, Moroccan television has broadcasting of short news bulletins in the language, and one may find reports in Tarifiyt in local media. Even in official situations Tarifiyt is regularly used, for example in municipal council meetings, and officials have no impediment to speaking Berber in public when this benefits their audience or their interests. Similarly, many Muslim clerics and preachers use Tarifiyt freely in order to convey their message. All in all, Tarifiyt is a vigorous language, used locally in most realms of life except where writing is concerned.

Traditionally, the Rif is a region with few urban centres, if one leaves out Melilla, which has been under Spanish control since 1497. This has changed over the past hundred years, and nowadays it is home to a number of cities. The largest among these is Nador, which has 159,590 inhabitants according to the 2014 census; the second-largest city is El Hoceima with 55,557 inhabitants. In both cases, there is a larger conurbation, which in the case of Nador includes the municipalities of Bni Ansar and Zeghanghane.

#### 1.4 History of Tarifiyt studies

Like for most Berber languages, the study of Tarifiyt Berber started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first comprehensive study of Tarifiyt was undertaken by René Basset in the framework of his general dialectological overview of the Berber varieties. Most comprehensive among these is R. Basset (1897), which provides

a comparative overview of Tarifiyt phonetics and a word list. As is the case of most of René Basset's works on Berber, the data are transcribed in a rather deficient way, and are often unreliable, esp. as the Latin transcriptions seem to be based on a rendering in Arabic script rather than on what was actually pronounced. To the modern user, they are still of considerable interest, as they give an impression of the state of the language before the colonial period. Around the same period, some portions of the Bible were translated into Tarifiyt, viz. the Gospel of Matthew, published in 1887 and the Gospel of John, published in 1890.

Serious study of Tarifiyt started in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Within the French school of Berber studies, the most important person who worked on Tarifiyt was Samuel Biarnay, who wrote two monographs on the language. The first monograph is a description of Tarifiyt as spoken in an immigrant community in the Algerian city of Arzew (Biarnay 1911), while the second provides phonology, vocabulary and texts of the entire Rif (Biarnay 1917). After Biarnay, Tarifiyt was only a minor subject in Berber studies for a long time, no doubt because it was spoken in the Spanish part of the Moroccan protectorate. A notable exception is Renisio (1932), who provides an – even in 1932 – somewhat outdated overview of Tarifiyt grammar, as well as a word list and a high-quality text collection. The main focus of Renisio's work lies on the varieties east and west of Tarifiyt proper, Beni Iznasen and Senhaja de Sraïr, but he also provides information on the central part of the Rif. In Spain, Berber studies were much less developed than in France, and in spite of the importance of northern Morocco as one of the few Spanish-administered overseas territories, only few researchers worked on Tarifiyt. In 1905, the Franciscan monk Pedro Hilarión Sarrionandia published a didactic grammar of Tarifiyt. In 1944 another Franciscan, Esteban Ibáñez, published a Spanish-Tarifiyt dictionary, to a large degree based on manuscripts by Sarrionandia. In 1949, the Tarifiyt-Spanish counterpart was published, which is basically an index on the 1944 publication. The two dictionaries were reedited as a single volume in 2007, indicating both Sarrionandia and Ibáñez as the authors.

In the first thirty years after the Second World War, studies of Tarifiyt were extremely rare, and for a long time, the language was all but totally neglected within Berber studies. Only in the late 1970s this changed with Mohamed Chami's unpublished PhD thesis *Un parler amazigh du Rif marocain* (1979), which provides a general overview of the grammar of Iqerxiyen Tarifiyt. This was followed by a number of other theses, such as Cadi (1981, published 1987; 2006) on Tarifiyt syntax and Chtatou (1982, not published) on phonology. Since then, Tarifiyt has been the subject of a number of theses on the pre-Doctoral and Doctoral levels in Morocco and in France; unfortunately, hardly any of these works have been published. Since the late 1990s, Tarifiyt has become one of the major focuses of research in Berber linguistics, and one of the main varieties of reference. Kossmann (2000) is a sketch grammar of the Beni Iznasen variety just to the east of Tarifiyt proper. MacClelland (2000; 2004; 2008) focusses on Iqerxiyen Tarifiyt; unfortunately the author seems to have misunderstood much of the phonetics and the morphophonology of the language, which makes his work difficult to use. Mohammed Serhoual compiled a large dictionary as his Thèse d'Etat at the university of Tetouan in

2000–2001. This important work has not yet been published, but copies of it can be found on the internet. The great boost in Tarifiyt studies, however, is due to the works by Mena Lafkioui, who, starting shortly before the turn of the millennium, has published a long series of books and articles on the language. Most important among these is her *Atlas linguistique des variétés berbères du Rif* (2007), which presents dialectal variation in the Rif (including Beni Iznasen in the east and Senhaja de Srair in the west) for 141 data points in 356 maps. It provides information on many realms of the language – phonetics, morphology, and lexicon. Moreover, the explanatory text between the maps can be read as a full grammatical overview of these matters. Important elements of syntax, intonation, and pragmatics are found in other works by Lafkioui, such as Lafkioui (1996; 2011, with reff., etc.).

### 1.5 Materials

In the following, some important materials on Tarifiyt will be listed. The list is far from exhaustive.

**Text books:** There are, to our knowledge, three text books for Tarifiyt Berber, two of them in Spanish. The first among these is Sarrionandia (1905) and the second, over 100 years later, the elementary course by Jahfar Hassan Yahia (2013). Tilmantine e.a. (1998) is a short introduction to Tarifiyt grammar and lexicon in Catalan.

**Grammars:** The comprehensive study of Iqeřiyen Berber grammar by Chami (1979) has unfortunately remained unpublished. Among recent works, Kossmann (2000) provides an overview of an adjacent variety, Beni Iznasen. Lafkioui's dialect atlas (2007) is very rich in materials and an analyses, and the maps and comments cover a large part of the phonology and morphology of Tarifiyt. Of course, the older grammars (Biarnay 1911, 1917; Renisio 1932) also remain relevant.

**Dictionaries:** The only recently published dictionary of Tarifiyt is MacClelland (2004). Unfortunately, this work is unreliable as to its transcription and morphological analysis. The unpublished dictionary by Serhoual (2002), to a large part a compilation of lexical material from other sources, is well available on the internet. Kossmann (2009) is a word list, compiled by Khalid Mourigh, of about 1,600 basic items for the same variety of Tarifiyt as presented in this study. Furthermore, the dictionary by Ibáñez, based on materials collected by Sarrionandia, is worth consulting (reedited as Sarrionandia & Ibáñez 2007).

**Text editions:** There are several text editions of Tarifiyt Berber folktales, mostly from regions west of Nador. El Ayoubi (2000) presents ten stories in the Ayt Weryaghel dialect (region of Al Hoceima), told by one of the most remarkable story tellers recorded in Morocco, with a French translation. Bezzazi & Kossmann (1997) is a bilingual Beni Iznasen – Dutch edition of fairy tales, while Kossmann (2004) is a similar edition of fairy tales that are mostly from the region of Driouch (esp. Ayt Oulichek and Ayt Tuzin). Chacha (2000) is a study, written in Tarifiyt, of *izṛan*, traditional songs. El Marraki (2009) presents a monolingual edition of traditional *izṛan*. A selection of these texts have been retranscribed and translated into Dutch in Mayssa & Mourigh (2015).

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CHAKER, Salem. 1984. *Textes en linguistique berbère (introduction au domaine berbère)*. Paris: Editions du CNRS. → First collection of articles by one of the most influential structuralist Berberologists.

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GALAND, Lionel. 1988. Le berbère. In: Jean Perrot, ed. *Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne*, Vol. III: *Les langues chamito-sémitiques (textes réunis par David Cohen)*. Paris: CNRS. 207–242. → Condensed overview of the structures of Berber, based on, but going beyond, Tashelhiyt.

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PENCHOEN, Thomas. 1973a. *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*. Los Angeles: Undena. → Short introduction to a northern Middle Atlas variety (Morocco).

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CHAKER, Salem. 1983. *Un parler berbère d'Algérie (Kabylie)*. Syntaxe. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence. → Grammar of a variety from Greater Kabylia (Algeria) in a French structuralist framework.

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*Libya, Egypt, Sahel zone:*

HEATH, Jeffrey. 2005. *A Grammar of Tamashek (Tuareg of Mali)*. Berlin etc.: Mouton de Gruyter. → Elaborate modern descriptive grammar of Mali Tuareg.

KOSSMANN, Maarten. 2011. *A Grammar of Aïyer Tuareg (Niger)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köpfe. → Grammatical introduction to a Tuareg variety from Niger.

— 2013. *A Grammatical Sketch of Ghadames Berber (Libya)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köpfe. → Grammatical introduction to a Berber language in Libya, based on previous literature.

LUX, Cécile. 2014. *Le tetsserret, langue berbère du Niger. Description phonétique et morphologique dans une perspective comparative*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köpfe. → Grammatical study of a language closely related to Mauritanian Berber spoken in Niger.

PRASSE, Karl-G. 2010. *Tuareg Elementary Course (Tahäggart)*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köpfe. → Course book of Tuareg by the most important specialist in Tuareg linguistics.

PUTTEN, Marijn van. 2014. *A Grammar of Awjila Berber (Libya). Based on Umberto Paradisi's Material*. → Grammatical analysis of a Berber language of Libya, based on previous literature.

SOUAG, Lameen. 2014. *Berber and Arabic in Siwa (Egypt). A Study in Linguistic Contact*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köpfe. → Grammatical overview of the easternmost variety of Berber, focusing on language contact.

### 1.8 Glosses and abbreviations

In this book, we use a way of linguistic glossing that is different from the standard in the field of Anglosaxon descriptive linguistics. Inspired by the running glosses used in many French publications, we have devised the following system.

a. In the glosses, each word is translated into English as completely as possible. Where English needs several words to convey what is rendered by one word in Tarifiyt, the English words are joined by a dot, e.g.

*yessawař*  
he.speaks<sup>1</sup>

b. Grammatical features are only indicated when the English translation is ambiguous. Thus, for example, there is no need to specify that 'he' in "he.speaks" is a third person masculine form, as this is exactly what the translation shows. However, in the case of English 'you', such explanations are necessary. Explanations of this type are put in superscript capital letters after the element in question. When several features have to be indicated this way, they are divided by a colon, e.g.

*tessawařent*  
you<sup>1<sup>PL</sup></sup>.speak<sup>1</sup>

c. As the aspectual systems of English and Tarifiyt are too different to give one-to-one equivalents, aspect is always indicated. This is the case, for example, of the Imperfective (abbreviated 'I') in the examples above. The imperative is marked by an exclamation mark following the translation, e.g.

*ssiweř*  
speak!<sup>A</sup>

d. State is only indicated when the noun in question has a morphological distinction between the Annexed State and the Free State.

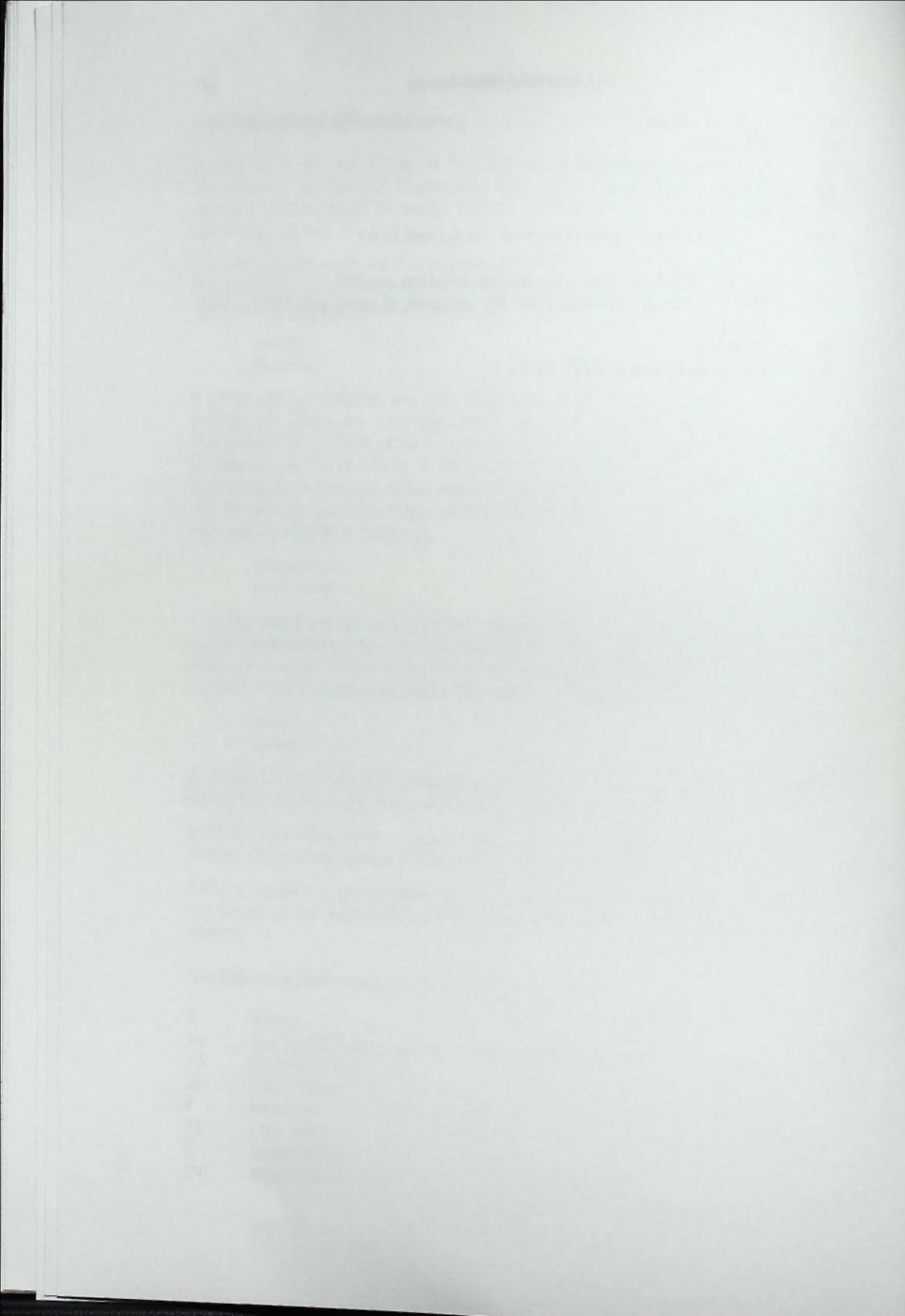
e. In the few cases where English makes more grammatical distinctions than Berber, the running glosses follow the English translation.

f. For a number of grammatical elements special renderings are used that are not based on the English translation. Such forms are written in small capital letters.

The following abbreviations are used in the glosses:

A	Aorist
AD	The particle <i>a(d)</i> ~ <i>ya</i> 'non-realized', see 7.1.1
AS	Annexed State
DO	Direct object
F	Feminine
FS	Free State
I	Imperfective
INJ	Injunctive

IO	Indirect object
M	Masculine
NI	Negative Imperfective
NP	Negative Perfective
P	Perfective
PAST	The particle <i>tuya</i> 'past reference', see 8.2 and 13.4.2
PL	Plural
Q	The particle <i>ma</i> , indicating a yes/no question, see 12.1
QA	The particle <i>qa</i> 'relevance for the moment of speaking', see 8.1 and 13.4.1
SG	Singular
XAD	The modal particle <i>xa(d)</i> , see 7.1.1



## 2. Sounds, writing, phonology

### 2.1 Writing Tarifiyt Berber

Tarifiyt Berber is written in many different ways. There exist several Latin transcription systems, some of them used for scientific purposes, others in literary productions, such as collections of poems. In some publications it is written in Arabic script, while others use the specifically Berber (neo-)Tifinagh script for writing Tarifiyt.

Neo-Tifinagh is derived from the traditional writing system of the Tuareg (who call it *tifinay*, *cifinay* or *šifinay*, depending on the dialect). This system, in turn, is a continuation of the Libyco-Berber script of Antiquity, which may or may not be derived from the Punic script, but is in any case inspired by the Punic writing system.<sup>2</sup> While Tifinagh has a long tradition in Tuareg, its use for writing other Berber languages dates back only 50 years. In the course of the 1960s Algerian Berber intellectuals designed a new version of Tifinagh, calqued on Latin transcriptions of Berber, which was considered to represent the age-old script of the Berbers. The script received official status in 2003 in Morocco, when it was chosen as the standard to be used in Berber education, as promoted by the *Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe* (IRCAM) in Rabat.

Among the many transcription practices of Tarifiyt in Latin script, one can discern a number of tendencies. These will be summarized as follows:

1. The “scientific” transcription. This transcription aims at a full representation of all phonemic contrasts. Some transcriptions of this type are closer to underlying phonological representations, while others try to capture the phonetics to some extent.
2. The “agreed” standard Latin orthography. This orthography was proposed and accepted by members of the Riffian scientific community in Utrecht (Netherlands) in 1996 and summarized in Lafkioui (2000). The orthography is strongly phonological and sometimes historical, and aims at convergence with other Berber languages, at least in writing conventions. Thus, some typical Tarifiyt sound changes are not represented. The result is a system that many native speakers find difficult to apply, because some contrasts are made, which do not exist in Tarifiyt (e.g. one should write *kal* or even *akal* ‘earth’ instead of the general Tarifiyt form *šar*), while other contrasts that exist in Tarifiyt are obliterated (e.g. the difference between *řmař* ‘cattle’ and *lmal* ‘capital’, which are both written *lmal*). In spite of its “agreed” status, this orthography has hardly ever been implemented in practice, and the few attempts are often riddled with errors, or have added some additional marking in order to make the phonological structure of the words retrievable (e.g. Kossmann 2004).

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<sup>2</sup> For a recent synthesis, see Dominique Casajus, *L’alphabet touareg* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2015).

The neo-Tifinagh writing system has basically the same orthographic conventions as the “agreed” orthography, but uses different graphemes.

3. The “practical” Latin orthography. In practice, many writers use an orthography which is derived from the “agreed” orthography, but which does not take over the main problems it poses to native writers and readers. Thus, many authors do not write spirantization (see 2.3.1), similar to the “agreed” orthography, but write *ṛ* as *r* or *ṛ* rather than *l*.

4. In addition to the above orthographies used in printed literature, Tarifiyt is written on the internet. While there are a number of conventions that many users adhere to (esp. the use of < 9 > for *q*, of < 3 > for *ɛ* and of < 7 > for *ħ*), spelling is highly individual and variable, and depends to a large degree on other orthographies that the writers have learned, e.g. Dutch orthography in the Netherlands, and French orthography in Morocco.

The following table presents the Tarifiyt system according to (idealized versions of) the three main orthographies outlined above, to which the Moroccan neo-Tifinagh system is added. The question of *r* and *ṛ* will be treated in 2.3.6 and 2.3.7.

IPA	“Scientific” transcription	“Agreed” orthography	“Practical” transcription	Neo-Tifinagh
[a],[æ] = /a/	a	a	a	◦
i	i	i	i	ξ
u	u	u	u	ø
ə	e (also: ə)	e	e	(ø)
b	b	b	b	θ
β	β	b	b	θ
d	d	d	d	ʌ
ð	ð	d	d	ʌ
d̥	đ	đ	đ	ɛ
ð̥	đ	đ	đ	ɛ
dʒ	dž (also: ɣ)	ll	dj, ɣ	ڻ
f	f	f	f	ڻ
g	g	g	g	ڦ

g:w	gg:w	gg:w	gg:w, ggw	XX:w
ɣ	ɣ (also: ɣ̄)	ɣ	ɣ, gh	Ɣ
ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	Ø
ħ	ħ	ħ	ħ	ʌ
j	y	y	y	ʃ
k	k	k	k	ꝝ
ç	ꝑ	k	k	ꝝ
k:w	kk:w	kk:w	kk:w, kkw	ꝝꝝ:w
l	l	l	l	Ɯ
m	m	m	m	Ɯ
n	n	n	n	l
ŋ	ŋ	n	n	l
p	p	p	p	ð
p:s	ɸ (also p)	p	p	ð
q	q	q	q	ꝝ
r	r	r	r	ꝝ
r:s	ṛ	r ~ ṛ	r	ꝝ
r	ṛ	l	r	Ɯ
s	s	s	s	ꝝ
s:s	ʂ	ʂ	ʂ	ꝝ
ʃ	š (also: c)	c	c	ꝝ
ʃ:s	ʂ	c	c	ꝝ
t	t	t	t	†
θ	ꝑ	t	t	†
t:s	ꝑ	ꝑ	ꝑ	ꝝ

ṭʃ	č (also: tš)	lt, č	tc	芰
w	w	w	w	□
x	x	x	x	✗
z	z	z	z	⌘
z <sup>g</sup>	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	⌘
ʒ	ž (also: j)	j	j	I
?	,	,	,	
ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ (rarely: â)	阮

In this book, we shall use a scientific transcription which is relatively close to phonetic realization. As it is geared towards non-native speakers, the choice of a phonetically transparent transcription was preferred over the other systems.

## 2.2 Vowels

The vowel system of Tarifiyt consists of three full vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, and one central vowel, schwa [ə]. The full vowels are known as “plain vowels” in Berber studies.

Vowel phonemes	
i	u
(ə)	
a	

Following the tradition in the field, schwa is written here *e*. The three plain vowels have lowered and somewhat more backed variants in the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants (cf. Louali & Puech, 1997; 1998). The vocalization of *r* has brought about more vowel qualities, for which, see 2.3.7.

Phonetic values of the plain vowels under different conditions				
non-pharyngealized	pharyngealized	with vocalized *r		
ɪ	ʊ	ṛ	ʊ̣	ɛa
ɛ		ạ		a ~ æ

The central vowel schwa is often assimilated to adjacent consonants; it is pronounced like a short central vowel [ə] before w, like short [ø] before y, and like short [e] in the vicinity of pharyngealized consonants, uvulars, and pharyngeals. Depending on context and speech tempo, schwa may be shortened to the extreme or not pronounced at all, e.g. *tamet̪tut* [θamt̪:øθ] 'woman'.

Schwa has a special status in Berber. While speakers normally have clear opinions about where there is a schwa and where not, it is quite often absent in actual pronunciation, especially in fast speech. The transcription here reflects the native speaker intuitions about the presence of schwa; in actual pronunciation, there are less schwas to be heard.

Schwa never occurs in open syllables. When due to morphological processes or otherwise it would be expected to stand in an open syllable, it is either deleted, or the final consonant is geminated. The latter process only applies before vowel-initial clitics. It concerns noun stems with deictic clitics or the 1SG possessive, e.g. *iṛ̪es* 'tongue', *iṛ̪ess-a* 'this tongue', *iṛ̪ess inu* 'my tongue'. It also concerns verbal inflectional suffixes, e.g. *ssfehmey* 'I made understand', *ssfehmeyy-as* 'I made him understand' (gemination in the 1SG suffix -ey). In other cases, schwa is deleted. When the deletion of schwa leads to a sequence of three single consonants, a new schwa is inserted into this cluster, leading to resyllabification of the word, e.g. *yessfhem* 'he explained' (in this word there is no suffix) vs. *yessfehm-as* 'he explained to him'. This also happens over word boundaries, e.g. *yessfhem ayyaw inu* > *yessfehm ayyaw inu* 'he made my grandson understand'.

Most scholars consider schwa to be sub-phonemic, as its presence is largely predictable from the structure of the word. According to this analysis, it is inserted from right to left by means of a simple rule "insert schwa between two consonants" and a simple constraint "never insert schwa so that it forms an open syllable". E.g., *yessfhem* would come from underlying *yssfhm* by the following derivation (ø means that the insertion is blocked by the open-syllable constraint):

*yssfhm* > *yssfhem* > *yssfhem* > *yssfhem* > *yessfhem*

Similarly with *yessfhem-as*:

*yssfhmas* > *yssfhemas* > *yssfehmas* > *yessfehmas*

While alluring by its simplicity, the rule has too many exceptions to be maintained as such. Thus there are some forms, which have a structure (C)eCC, which would be impossible according to the derivation (it should be CCeC), e.g. *yexs* 'he wants' instead of \*\*ixes and *ṛ̪west* 'center' instead of \*\*rewset. Moreover, one notes the difference between the Berber nominal F:SG suffix -t/-t, which is not preceded by schwa, and the plural imperative suffix -et, which has schwa, e.g. *ṭiyest* 'tooth' (not: \*\*tiyemset) vs. *šemset* 'wrap! (plural)' (not: \*\*šmest).

The opinion that schwa is not phonemic is reflected in neo-Tifinagh orthography, which writes schwa (e) only under a few specific circumstances. In the orthography used here, schwa is always written.

## 2.3 Consonants

### 2.3.1 Stops and spirantized consonants

The stops /b/, /d/, /dʒ/, /t/, /g/ and /k/ are relatively rare in Tarifiyt, except in a number of environments:

- when geminated, e.g. *yeddaa* 'he lives'
- after *n*, e.g. *yendu* 'he jumped'
- in word-final clusters, e.g. *tafunast* 'cow'

In other environments, one finds lenis pronunciations, known as "spirantization" in Berber studies. Such sounds are fricatives, which (if possible) have an articulation place more to the front of the mouth. In this book, following general Berber tradition, spirantization is marked by a bar underneath the letter. Spirantized sounds are the following:

<b> ⓘ ([β])</b>	A voiced bilabial fricative
<b> ⓘ ([ð])</b>	A voiced (inter)dental fricative, as <i>th</i> in English <i>though</i> , Arabic ⓘ
<b> ⓘ ([ðˤ])</b>	A voiced pharyngealized ("emphatic") (inter)dental fricative, as in some pronunciations of Standard Arabic ⓘ
<b> ⓘ ([θ])</b>	A voiceless (inter)dental fricative, as <i>th</i> in English <i>thing</i> , Arabic ⓘ
<b> ⓘ ([ç])</b>	A voiceless palatal flat fricative, as <i>ch</i> in Standard German <i>ich</i> . In Nador Tarifiyt, this consonant has mostly become ⓘ, and occurs only in a few words, e.g. <i>seksu</i> 'couscous'.

In intervocalic position, ⓘ is sometimes pronounced as *h*.

To a large extent, stops and spirantized consonants are in complementary distribution. This is the reason that most transcription systems write them the same. However, there are exceptions to this distribution, which make it necessary to distinguish the two sets as different phonemes. The exceptions are of two types:

1. Simplified geminates. Some originally geminated consonants have become simplified, but do not undergo spirantization. This is the case, for instance, of the past marker *tuya* which is derived from earlier *ttuya* (as attested in other Tarifiyt dialects). Similarly the verbal deictic marker ⓘ 'hither' is derived from earlier *dd*.<sup>3</sup>
2. There are quite a number of loanwords which have simple stops in contexts where one would expect spirantization, e.g. ⓘ 'bank (financial institution)' (< Spanish *banco*), *lwelda* 'womb' (< Moroccan Arabic *l-welda*), *atay* 'tea' (< Moroccan Arabic *atay*), *gewwed* 'to lead' (< Moroccan Arabic *gewwed*), *muka* 'owl' (< Moroccan Arabic *muka*), *kisu* 'cheese' (< Spanish *queso*).

There are other exceptional cases, such as *agemmiz* 'cheek', *amezdag* 'clean', *kenniw* 'you (masculine plural)', *tikedfet* (also *tišedfet*) 'ant', *takešša* 'worm'.

<sup>3</sup> In "agreed" orthography, in such cases the (historical) geminate is written, i.e., *ttuya*, *dd*.

Exceptions abound with *k* and *g*, and are relatively common with *d* and *t*. Exceptions concerning *b* and *d* are very rare. In Nador Tarifiyt, as in many other varieties of Tarifiyt (cf. Lafkioui 2007:41ff.), spirantized *g* ([j]) has become *y* and *k* ([ç]) has become *š*, e.g., *uyua* instead of *uğua* 'walk!' and *išarri* instead of *iğarri* 'ram'.

There are a few minimal pairs showing the difference between spirantized and non-spirantized consonants, e.g. *tiři* 'shadow' vs. *tiři* 'probably'.

Due to the many exceptions, therefore, the difference between stops and spirantized consonants will be written consistently in this book, also for consonants where the complementary distribution is almost perfect.

### 2.3.2 Pharyngealization ("emphasis")

Most dental and alveolar consonants occur in pairs of plain and pharyngealized phonemes. Pharyngealization is the phonetic term for what is called emphasis in Arabic studies. The following pharyngealized phonemes exist:

- đ ([ð<sup>°</sup>]) voiced pharyngealized interdental fricative, Standard Arabic ط
- đ ([d<sup>°</sup>]) voiced pharyngealized alveolar stop, Arabic ض
- ť ([t<sup>°</sup>]) voiceless pharyngealized alveolar stop, Arabic ط
- ż ([z<sup>°</sup>]) voiced pharyngealized alveolar sibilant, Standard Arabic [Egyptian pronunciation] ظ
- ş ([s<sup>°</sup>]) voiceless pharyngealized alveolar sibilant, Arabic ص
- š ([ʃ<sup>°</sup>]) voiceless pharyngealized post-palatal sibilant
- ř [r<sup>°</sup>] voiced pharyngealized alveolar tap
- ř [ř<sup>°</sup>] voiced pharyngealized alveolar lateral approximant, like in Arabic لـ
- ř [p<sup>°</sup>] voiceless pharyngealized bilabial stop, only in loanwords from Spanish, e.g. *pabu* 'turkey'

Pharyngealization is a spreading feature, that is to say, in words which contain a pharyngealized consonant, other sounds are pharyngealized too. Thus, a word like *nžum* 'we fasted' is pronounced *nžym*. Among phonemes that are inherently pharyngealized, only *d/d*, *z*, and *r* are common in roots with a Berber etymology; the others mainly occur in loans from Arabic or Spanish. Pharyngealized *l* is rare, cf. *welleh* 'lol', *lbaļa* 'shovel', while unconditioned *š* seems to be restricted to the nouns *ušša* 'greyhound' and *mušš* 'cat'.

### 2.3.3 Back consonants

Tarifiyt Berber has the following consonants in the uvular and pharyngeal domain:

- ȝ [ȝ, ȝ] voiced back-velar/uvular fricative, Arabic ظ
- ȝ [x, ȝ] voiceless back-velar/uvular fricative, Arabic ظ

q [q] voiceless uvular stop, Arabic ق  
 ε [χ] voiced pharyngeal fricative, Arabic غ  
 ħ [ħ] voiceless pharyngeal fricative, Arabic ح  
 h [h] voiced laryngeal fricative, Arabic ه

ي is similar in pronunciation to the “r grasseye” of French and initial /r/ in most varieties of German and Dutch. x is the same sound as the German and Dutch <ch> in *lachen*. Voiced h is similar to h in German and Dutch, but different from English h (as in *how*), which is voiceless. There are no phonetic equivalents to q, ε and ħ in western European languages.

### 2.3.4 ڻ

The sound ڻ (English *ng* as in *king*) is exclusively attested before the consonant w and may be considered an assimilatory variant of n, e.g. *yeywa* ‘it cooked’; *ywaman* < *n waman* ‘of the water’. Note that the assimilation does not take place when n is geminated, e.g. *nnwaa* ‘flours’.

### 2.3.5 gg<sup>w</sup> and kk<sup>w</sup>

Labialized consonants are made by rounding the lips during the pronunciation of the consonant. In Tarifiyt, they only occur with the geminates gg<sup>w</sup> and kk<sup>w</sup>, e.g. *aðeggʷař* ‘father-in-law’, *yeddakkʷař* ‘he always goes back’.

### 2.3.6 l and ڦ

In the history of Tarifiyt \*l changed to ڦ and its geminated counterpart \*ll became dڙ<sup>4</sup>. In most Tarifiyt dialects, ڦ is pronounced very similar to r, and mainly distinguished from it by its lack of influence on surrounding vowels (see 2.3.7). In some dialects, however, it is more clearly distinguished because ڦ is rolled, while r is a tap, or because ڦ is palatalized (similar to English r), while r is not. These sound changes are behind seemingly irregular pairs such as in *yeqṛa* ‘he fried’ vs. *iqedža* ‘he always fries’. The latter form is a imperfective with gemination of ڦ. Moreover, they make loanwords less transparent, e.g. *džirṛet* ‘night’ < Moroccan Arabic *l-lila*. Due to later borrowing, l and ll have been reintroduced into the language. Thus the loan ڦmař ‘cattle’ (< Moroccan Arabic *l-mal* ‘the capital, the property’) is doubled by a later loan from the same source, *lmal* ‘capital’.

### 2.3.7 r and rr

The rhotics r and rr have undergone important changes in Tarifiyt. The rules for these changes are different according to the dialect and the subdialect (Lafkioui 2007:29ff.). In the dialect of Nador (and in many other varieties), r is vocalized with an a-like sound when not immediately followed by a vowel /a/, /i/ or /u/. The effect resembles the vowel-like pronunciation of r in many

<sup>4</sup> The original pronunciation is preserved in the easternmost varieties of Tarifiyt, Kebdana and Beni Iznasen.

varieties of German. The effect of the vocalization is mainly a change in the pronunciation of the preceding vowel. In some dialects, the resulting sound is longer than normal vowels. In this book the vocalized /r/ is written as an *a* following the basic vowel of the word, i.e. /ar/ (< \*er and \*ar) is written *aa*, /ur/ is written *ua*, and /ir/ is written *ia*. Similarly, vocalized pronunciations of pharyngealized /ṛ/ are written by means of the sign *aa*, i.e. /ṛar/ = *aa*, /ṛur/ = *ua*, /ṛir/ = *ia*.

When *r* follows *a* or (historical) schwa, the result is a front vowel [a] or [æ]. This pronunciation is lower than the pronunciation of \*a when not followed by a rhotic (which is [ɛ]), but more to the front than the pronunciation of \*a in pharyngealized contexts (which is [a̚]), e.g.

*yekker	>	yekkaa	=	[jæk:a]	'he stood up'
*yekka	>	yekka	=	[jæk:ɛ]	'he passed'
*yebda	>	yebda	=	[jəβ̚ðə̚a̚]	'he divided'

When *r* follows *u*, the result is a diphthong [øa] (sometimes almost like [wa:]), e.g. \*šurdu > šuadu [ʃøaðu] ~ [ʃwa:ðu] 'flea'. When *r* follows *i*, the result is a diphthong [ɛʌ] (sometimes almost like [ja]), e.g. \*irđen > iaden [ɛʌðən] 'wheat'.

In urban Nador, /ir/ is often pronounced *aa* rather than *ia*, except in word-initial position. With /ur/ this is only common in the pronunciation of the name of the city, *nnađuq* > *nnađaa*.

When *r* is not syllable-final, i.e. when it is followed immediately by a vowel, it is pronounced as a tap (similar to the *r* of Spanish *pero* 'but'). It still has influence on the preceding vowel, especially on *a*, thus *ar* is pronounced [ar] rather than [ɛr]. This constitutes the main pronunciation difference between intervocalic *r* and *ṛ*, e.g.

ari	=	[ari]	'esparto grass'
ṛri	=	[ɛri] ~ [eri]	'go up!'

Geminated *rr* is pronounced as a trill (like in Spanish *perro* 'dog'). It has the same effect on preceding vowels as single *r*, e.g. \*išerri > išarri [išari] 'ram', as opposed to šaṛ [šer] ~ [šer] 'earth'. Pharyngealized *r* and *ṛr* have a similar fate as their non-pharyngealized counterparts. Like with other pharyngealized consonants, vowels surrounding *r* are lowered considerably, e.g. \*ṛferq > ḫfaaq [rfa̚q] 'difference'.

### 2.3.8 Geminated consonants

Geminated (or tense) consonants are represented by double consonants. They are pronounced longer than single consonants. Gemination is found as a stable feature in stems, but it can also be the result of assimilation or morphological processes. These last two circumstances allow us to establish pairs of plain vs. geminated consonants. For a number of consonants, a geminate is only different from its plain counterpart because of its length, e.g. *n* [n] vs. *nn* [n:].

Spirantized consonants have long stops as their geminate correspondents, e.g. *yedzdey* 'he lives' vs. *izeddey* (with [d:]) 'he always lives'. Long spirantized

consonants only occur in a few specific phonotactic environments, where they are used to preserve schwa in open syllables, e.g., in verb suffixes before vowel-initial clitics, *tessfehmedd-as* 'you made him understand' with gemination in the suffix *-ed* before the Indirect object pronoun *as*.

A number of consonants have divergent geminated counterparts:

đ/đ	↔	tt	<i>yendu</i> 'he jumped' vs. <i>ineṭtu</i> 'he always jumps'
w	↔	kkʷ	<i>yedweř</i> 'he became' vs. <i>yeddakkʷař</i> 'he always becomes'
y	↔	qq	<i>yena</i> 'he killed' vs. <i>ineqq</i> 'he always kills'
ř	↔	dž	<i>yemřeš</i> 'he married' vs. <i>imedžeš</i> 'he always marries'

The existence of such divergent counterparts in morphology does not rule out the possibility of having regular geminated forms in stems (except with *ř*). This is very common with *ww*, e.g. *ašewwaf* 'hair'. It rarely occurs with *yy* and *dd*, e.g. *iyyed* 'ashes', *weddaq* 'to be lost'.

### 2.3.9 Semivowels and high vowels

Different from some other Berber languages, in Tarifiyt the semivowels *w* and *y* are well distinguished from the high vowels *u* and *i*, e.g. *yewzen* 'he weighed' vs. *yudef* 'he came in'. In a number of circumstances, the opposition is neutralized, however:

1. *ye* and *we* become *i* and *u*, respectively, if the *e* would otherwise stand in an open syllable, e.g. *yefhem* 'he understood' vs. *ifehm-as* 'he understood him'
2. in word-final position, *ey* and *ew* become *i* and *u*, respectively, e.g.  
*\*yuřey* > *yuři* 'he went up' (cf. *uřyen* 'they went up')  
*\*yendew* > *yendu* 'he jumped' (cf. *neđwen* 'they jumped')

## 2.4 Consonant assimilations

### 2.4.1 Lack of spirantization in word-final consonant clusters

In Iqeřiyen Tarifiyt, the final element of a word-final consonant cluster does not undergo spirantization, e.g. *taeeddist* 'belly'. The rule only applies on word level. It does not apply to the direct object clitic *t*, which preserves its spirantized pronunciation, e.g. *zrixt* (< \**zrix-t*) 'I saw him', *yiwast* (< *yiwya-as-t*) 'he brought it to him'. Similarly, the adjunction of a vowel-initial clitic does not undo the despirantization, e.g. we have *taeeddist-a* 'this belly', not *taeeddist-ta*.

Vocalized /r/ does not count as a consonant in the application of this rule, and therefore word-final \**rt* preserves spirantization, e.g. *tammuat* 'country' (< \**tammurt*). Elsewhere in Tarifiyt, the rule does not apply, and word-final clusters with spirantized consonants are extremely common, e.g. neighboring Ayt Seid: *taeeddist* 'belly'.

### 2.4.2 Assimilations with t and t

Consonants preceding the t/t feminine suffix on nouns often undergo assimilations. Voiced fricatives become voiceless before t/t. Remark that, as shown in the preceding paragraph, spirantization is absent in word-final clusters; therefore most examples below have final t rather than t̪.

<u>b</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>ft</u> / <u>ft</u>	<u>tažedžaft</u> (< * <u>tažedžabt̪</u> )	'gown (djellaba)'
<u>z</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>st</u> / <u>st</u>	<u>talwist</u> (< * <u>talwizt̪</u> )	'gold coin'
<u>z</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>št</u> / <u>št</u>	<u>tayažašt</u> (< * <u>tayažažt̪</u> )	'hare'
<u>ž</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>št</u> / <u>št</u>	<u>taežžašt</u> (< * <u>taežžažt̪</u> )	'dust'
<u>y</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>xt</u> / <u>xt</u>	<u>tmazixt</u> (< * <u>tmaziyt̪</u> )	'Berber language'
	<u>zrixt</u> (< * <u>zriy-t̪</u> )	'I saw him'
<u>ɛ</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>ht</u> / <u>ht</u>	<u>tqubeht</u> (< * <u>tqubeet̪</u> )	'little bird'

When t is preceded by y, the approximant changes to š, e.g.

<u>y</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>št</u> / <u>št</u>	<u>taqežeešt</u> (< * <u>taqežeyt̪</u> )	'Iqerseyen woman'
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When t is preceded by one of the following dental and alveolar consonants, the result is a long voiceless alveolar stop. When the first consonant is pharyngealized, the result of the assimilation is pharyngealized too, e.g.

<u>d</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>tt</u>	<u>tabritt</u> (< * <u>tabridt̪</u> )	'path'
	<u>t tamyaat</u> (< <u>d tamyaat</u> )	'it is a woman'
<u>d</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>tt</u>	<u>attawi</u> (< * <u>a d-ṭawi</u> )	'she will bring here'
<u>d</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>ṭṭ</u>	<u>tyaziṭṭ</u> (< * <u>tyaziḍt̪</u> )	'hen'

When preceded by m, one gets a plosive pronunciation of t, d, ḍ, and m becomes n.

<u>m</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>nt</u>	<u>taxxant</u> (< * <u>taxxamt̪</u> )	'small room' <sup>5</sup>
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When t is preceded by ṛ, the result is č:

<u>ṛ</u> + <u>t</u> > <u>č</u>	<u>tamedžač</u> (< * <u>tamedžaṛt̪</u> )	'egg' <sup>6</sup>
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These assimilations are most conspicuous in the formation of feminine nouns by means of the suffix -t̪; in such cases, the original consonant can be made out from the plural, e.g.

<u>tamedžač</u> – <u>timedžařin</u>		'egg – eggs'
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The assimilations have also occurred inside lexical items in which the \*t̪ is part of the stem and not a suffix; in such cases only comparison with other languages can show they took place, cf. the following loanwords:

<sup>5</sup> An exception is provided by remtūr 'proverbs'.

<sup>6</sup> The only exception is the numeral teṛt̪ as in teṛt̪ iyam 'three days'.

<i>sseft</i>	'Saturday'	(< Moroccan Arabic <i>ssebt</i> )
<i>zzešt</i>	'oil'	(< Moroccan Arabic <i>zzeyt</i> )
<i>xači</i>	'my maternal aunt'	(< Moroccan Arabic <i>xalt-i</i> )

### 2.4.3 Lack of spirantization after alveolar nasals

After alveolar nasals, spirantized labials and dentals become stops. This also occurs between words, e.g.

<i>tyennžen dinni</i>	> <i>tyennžen dinni</i>	'they sing there'
<i>a kisen teš</i>	> <i>a kisen teš</i>	'she would eat with them'
<i>ižžen tmettut</i>	> <i>ižžen tmettut</i>	'a woman'
<i>bab-a-s n thenžiat</i>	> <i>bab-a-s n thenžiat</i>	'the father of the girl'

In the transcriptions in this book, assimilations between words will not be written.

### 2.4.4 Other consonant assimilations

Especially with the predicative particle *d* (see 13.5) one often finds assimilation to a following *n*:

<i>d + n ~ nn</i> ( facultative )	<i>n nešš ~ d nešš</i>	'it's me'
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In addition, there are a number of irregular assimilations which take place when the preverbal element *ad* is followed by a subject prefix of the verb (see 7.1.1). In this case, *d* assimilates to *t* and *n* according to regular assimilations, but the result is a short consonant rather than a long one, e.g.

<i>a teffey</i>	< <i>ad teffey</i>	'she will go out'
<i>a neffey</i>	< <i>ad neffey</i>	'we will go out'

When the 3SG Indirect object pronoun *as* is followed by the deictic clitic *d*, it may be pronounced *az*, e.g.

<i>yiwy-az-d ~ yiwy-as-d</i>	'he brought to him over here'
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With the prepositions *di* 'in' and *zzi*, there is assimilation of the final *i* to a following *i* or *y*. The result is *gg*, e.g.

<i>degg ifri</i> (< *di yifri)	'in the cave'
<i>zzeegg duraa</i> (< zzi iduraa)	'from the mountains'

When these prepositions are followed by a noun starting in *w* or *u*, the assimilation leads to a form *gg<sup>w</sup>*, e.g.

<i>degg<sup>w</sup> funas</i> (< *di ufunas)	'in the ox'
<i>zegg<sup>w</sup> draa</i> (< *zi wedraa)	'from the mountain'

In Tarifift varieties spoken more to the west, this is also found in constructions with the relative particle *i* and with the question word *wi* 'who', e.g.

<i>igg ffyen</i> (Nador: <i>i yeffyen</i> )	'that has gone out'
<i>wigg nnan</i> (Nador: <i>wi yennan</i> )	'who said'

<sup>7</sup> *Atteffey* would rather be the pronunciation of *a d-teffey* 'she will go out hither'.

### 2.4.5 Irregular variations of *n* 'of' and *iżżeñ* 'one'

The preposition *n* 'of' and the numeral *iżżeñ* 'one, a' present a number of irregularities depending on the form of the following noun:

- when followed by *u* or *i*, *n* is not pronounced, e.g.

<i>taddaañ uzedžid</i>	'the house of the king'
house / [of] / king <sup>AS</sup>	
<i>ameddukeř uma</i>	'a friend of my brother'
friend <sup>TS</sup> / [of] / my.brother	
<i>ša imendi</i>	'some barley'
some / [of] / barley	
<i>iżż uzedžid</i>	'a king'
one / king <sup>AS</sup>	

- by regular assimilation, when followed by *w*, *n* is pronounced *y*, e.g.

<i>šwayt y weysum</i>	'a little bit of meat'
little.bit / of / meat <sup>AS</sup>	

- when followed by a labial, a velar or a pharyngeal continuant, or by *l*, *n* undergoes complete assimilation (cf. Chami 1979:80ff), e.g.

<i>m midden</i>	'of (other) people'
<i>f Fađma</i>	'of Fađma'
<i>p pulisiyya</i>	'of the police'
<i>x xači</i>	'of my maternal aunt'
<i>h henna</i>	'of my grandmother'
<i>ɛ eenti</i>	'of my paternal aunt'
<i>l lalla</i>	'of my mistress'

- *ř* is assimilated to *n*, e.g.

<i>n řebħaa &gt; n neħħaa</i>	'of the sea'
of / sea	
<i>iżżeñ řebħaa &gt; iżżeñ neħħaa</i>	'a sea'
one / sea	

In other Tarifiyt dialects, *ř* changes to *đ* in this context, and one has *n řebħaa > n ġeħħaa*.

and "recovery" — the health effects of tobacco taxes, which he claims is having "a real and dramatic" effect on smoking rates. "I think it's a good generator and it even allows us to say, 'Look, we're doing something good for the public health,' " he says.

But the tobacco industry has not been so sanguine about the new legislation. In a statement, Philip Morris' chief executive officer, Richard Lamm, said the new law "is a bad idea" and "will not help smokers quit."

Opponents of the legislation believe it will not only fail to curb smoking, but will also result in a "catastrophic" increase in the price of cigarettes.

Opponents also argue that the new law is "a bad idea" because it will not help smokers quit. "It's not going to do anything to help smokers quit," says Lamm. "It's not going to do anything to help smokers live longer."

But the legislation's supporters believe it will do both. "It's going to help smokers quit," says Lamm. "It's going to help smokers live longer."

It's also believed that everyone is smoking a cigarette. "Everyone is smoking a cigarette," says Lamm. "Everyone is smoking a cigarette. It's not just the smokers who are smoking a cigarette. It's the non-smokers who are smoking a cigarette."

Opponents also argue that the new law is "a bad idea" because it will not help smokers quit. "It's not going to do anything to help smokers quit," says Lamm. "It's not going to do anything to help smokers live longer."

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### 3. The noun

#### 3.1 The basic structure of Tarifiyt nouns

##### 3.1.1 Introduction

In Tarifiyt, the class of nouns includes adjectives; adjectives are morphologically the same as nouns, they only differ somewhat with respect to their syntactic behavior (see 11.2).

Tarifiyt nouns can be classified in three morphological classes:

Class I	Nouns with Berber affixes
Class II	Nouns with Arabic morphology
Class III	Nouns without affixes

Class I is the largest. It consists of the great majority of nouns with a Berber etymology, as well as a fair number of loanwords from Arabic and European languages. Moreover, almost all adjectives belong in this class. The category of nouns with Arabic morphology consists of loanwords from Arabic, as well as many loans from European languages. The third category consists of basic kinship terms and a few other nouns.

Tarifiyt nouns distinguish three categories: gender, number and case/state. Adjectives and verbs agree with the noun in gender and number, but not in state.

In this chapter, we will first give an overview of the main categories that are expressed in the noun, gender, number, and state. This will be followed by an overview of how these categories are expressed in morphology. While the part on categories will concern nouns of all classes together, the part on morphology will keep the different morphological classes apart.

##### 3.1.2 Gender

Tarifiyt has two genders, masculine and feminine. In countable nouns of Class I (nouns with Berber affixes), gender is derivative: in principle, every masculine noun has a feminine counterpart. With humans and higher animals, masculine and feminine mark natural gender, e.g.

<i>aħenžia</i> (M)	'boy'	<i>taħenžiat</i> (F)	'girl'
<i>ayyaw</i> (M)	'grandson'	<i>tayyawt</i> (F)	'granddaughter' <sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *ayyaw* - *tayyawt* mainly denote relatives linked to oneself through the female line: sister's-child, paternal aunt's-child. When referring to grandchildren, it was originally restricted to daughter's children, but nowadays it is also used for son's children, cf. Raymond Jamous, *Honneur & baraka. Les structures sociales traditionnelles dans le Rif* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1981), pp. 261-262.

<i>asaadun</i> (M)	'male mule'	<i>tasaadunt</i> (F)	'female mule'
<i>afunas</i> (M)	'ox'	<i>tafunast</i> (F)	'cow'

For a few basic items, there exist suppletive pairs, e.g.

<i>aayaz</i> (M)	'man'	<i>tamyaat</i> (F)	'woman'
<i>amyan</i> (M)	'he-goat'	<i>tyat̪</i> (F)	'she-goat'
<i>išarri</i> (M)	'ram'	<i>tixsi</i> (F)	'ewe'
<i>yis</i> (M)	'horse'	<i>řeawda</i> (F)	'mare'

This is especially the case among Class III nouns, e.g.

<i>uma</i> (M)	'my brother'	<i>učma</i> (F)	'my sister'
<i>baba</i> (M)	'my father'	<i>yemma</i> (F)	'my mother'
<i>žeddi</i> (M)	'my grandfather'	<i>henna</i> (F)	'my grandmother'

With lower animals (non-domesticated birds, insects and the like), and with inanimate nouns, masculine denotes a larger entity than feminine. In most cases, one gender is assigned to the basic meaning of the noun, while the other gender expresses a remarkably big (if masculine) or small (if feminine) exemplar, e.g.

<i>tit̪</i> (F)	'(normally-sized) eye'	<i>aṭṭaw</i> (M)	'big eye'
<i>fus</i> (M)	'(normally sized) hand'	<i>tfust</i> (F)	'baby hand'

In other cases, it is difficult to assign a basic gender value to a noun: masculine and feminine simply denote differently sized objects, e.g.

<i>ayenža</i>	'ladle'	<i>tayenžašt</i>	'spoon'
<i>akeššuđ</i>	'big stick'	<i>takeššuṭ</i>	'small stick, toothpick'
<i>aqbuš</i>	'big water jar'	<i>taqbušt</i>	'small water jar'

In a few cases, especially with pots and pans, the larger item has Class II masculine morphology, while the smaller item takes Class I feminine morphology:

<i>řmaqra</i>	'big frying pan'	<i>řmaqrat</i>	'small frying pan'
<i>řkas</i>	'glass'	<i>řkasešt</i>	'small glass'
<i>maqamiṭa</i>	'big pan'	<i>maqamiṭat</i>	'small pan'
<i>řbit</i>	'room'	<i>řbitešt</i>	'small room'

Finally, feminine gender is used to denote language names, and, in a few cases, typical behavior, e.g.

<i>ṭmazixt</i> (F)	'Berber language, Berber woman' (cf. <i>maziy</i> 'Berber man')
<i>ṭaeraft</i> (F)	'Arabic language, Arabic woman' (cf. <i>aerab</i> 'Arab man')
<i>ṭašpanyut</i> (F)	'Spanish language, Spanish woman' (cf. <i>ašpanyu</i> 'Spanish man')

<i>ṭayast</i> (F)	'courage' (cf. <i>aayaz</i> 'man')
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On the use of gender in making the difference between collectives and unity nouns, see below.

<sup>9</sup> In addition, the regular pair *akidqa* (M) - *takidqaṭ* (F) is used.

### 3.1.3 Number

Tarifiyt countable nouns distinguish a singular from a plural, e.g.

<i>ahenžia</i> (SG)	'boy'	<i>iħenžian</i> (PL)	'boys'
<i>taħenžia</i> (F)	'girl'	<i>iħenžirin</i> (PL)	'girls'

A few nouns have suppletive plurals:

<i>uma</i> (SG)	'my brother'	<i>ayetma</i> (PL)	'my brothers'
<i>učma</i> (SG)	'my sister'	<i>issma</i> (PL)	'my sisters'

Mass nouns (e.g. liquids) are either singular or plural; the choice seems to be lexical, and no semantic groups can be discerned, e.g.

<i>ayi</i>	'milk'	(SG)
<i>ṛgiħ</i>	'pus'	(SG)
<i>aman</i>	'water'	(PL)
<i>idammen</i>	'blood'	(PL)

Dual number only exists in a few adverbial expressions borrowed from Moroccan Arabic (see 10.1.1), cf.

(during one) X	(during) two X	(during) more than two X
<i>rnħaq</i> <sup>10</sup>	<i>yumayen</i>	<i>iyyam</i>
<i>ħħaq</i>	<i>šeħrayen</i>	<i>ħħuq</i>
<i>eam</i>	<i>eamayen</i>	<i>snin</i>

There exist a number of nouns which have a triple distinction. These nouns distinguish a collective form (grammatically singular) from forms denoting a unit (both singular and plural possible). Collective nouns refer to a collection of items or objects presented as a whole. By applying Berber feminine morphology, the unity noun is formed, which refers to individuated items. Collective and unity nouns are mostly, but not exclusively, found in the semantic domains of fruits, vegetables, trees and plants. Normally, collective nouns are masculine singulars belonging to Class II (nouns with Arabic morphology), while unit nouns are feminines belonging to Class I (nouns with Berber morphology).

Collective	Unit noun (SG)	Unit noun (PL)	
<i>ṛbašua</i>	<i>tbašua</i>	<i>tibašuarin</i>	'fig'
<i>ṛebser</i>	<i>tabseč</i>	<i>tibešrin</i>	'onion'
<i>ṛferfer</i>	<i>tiferfeč</i>	<i>tiferfrin</i>	'paprika'
<i>ddellie</i>	<i>tadelliħt</i>	<i>tidelliein</i>	'watermelon'
<i>ṣṣabun</i>	<i>tsabunt</i>	<i>tiṣabunin</i>	'soap'
<i>tteffah</i>	<i>tateffaħt</i>	<i>titeffahin</i>	'apple'
<i>nnewwaš</i>	<i>tanewwaħt</i>	<i>tinewwaħin</i>	'plant (generic term)'
<i>llešsin</i>	<i>taleššint</i>	<i>tileššin</i>	'orange'
<i>llažuq</i>	<i>tlažuqat</i>	<i>tilažuqin</i>	'brick'
<i>lbanan</i>	<i>tbanant</i>	<i>tibananin</i>	'banana'
<i>lfiras</i>	<i>tafirast</i>	<i>tifirasin</i>	'pear'

<sup>10</sup> With deictic clitics, the form lacks initial gemination, e.g. *nhar-a* 'today'.

<i>baṭaṭa</i>	<i>tbaṭaṭṭ</i>	<i>tibaṭaṭaṭin</i>	'potato'
<i>mandarinā</i>	<i>tmandařint</i>	<i>t̄imandařin̄in</i>	'mandarin'
<i>tumaṭiš</i>	<i>tt̄umaṭišt̄</i>	<i>t̄it̄umaṭišin̄</i>	'tomato'
<i>xizzu</i>	<i>txizzut̄</i>	<i>t̄ixizzuṭ̄in̄</i>	'carrot'

In some nouns, the stem of the unit noun is somewhat different from the stem of the collective, e.g.

<i>ššmeč</i>	<i>ťumečt̄</i>	<i>tišumečaṭin̄</i>	'candle'
<i>ššeččer</i>	<i>tašeččerěst̄</i>	(no plural)	'matches'

### 3.1.4 State

Class I nouns (nouns with Berber affixes) distinguish two forms, which are related to the syntactic context and function of the noun. In Berber linguistics, these forms are mostly called states. They are, however, different from states in the Semitic sense of the word: while the Semitic states concern the structure of the Noun Phrase (esp. whether the noun is a head followed by a genitival complement or not), in Berber it is mainly about syntactic position. As such, it is more similar to what is called case elsewhere. In order to remain close to Berberological practice, we call the two forms "Free State" (= "état libre") and "Annexed State" (= "état d'annexion").

The Free State is used in the following contexts:

- In isolation, e.g. *aayaz* (FS) 'man'
- As subject or predicate of a non-verbal sentence, e.g.

*aayaz-a d ayyaw nnes*  
 man<sup>FS</sup>-this / PRED / grandson<sup>FS</sup> / his  
 'this man (FS) is his grandson (FS)'

- As a direct object, e.g.

*yessawař taspanyut*  
 he.speaks<sup>P</sup> / Spanish<sup>SGFS</sup>  
 'he speaks Spanish (FS)'

- As a topicalized element put before the central part of the clause, e.g.

*aayaz-enni, yeqqim di barra*  
 man<sup>FS</sup>-that / he.stayed<sup>P</sup> / in / outside  
 'that man (FS), he remained outside'

- After the prepositions *ař* 'until' and *břa* 'without', e.g.

*yuzzeř ař aqidun nnes*  
 he.ran<sup>P</sup> / until / tent<sup>FS</sup> / his  
 'he ran until his tent (FS)'

*tus-ed břa aayaz nnes*  
 she.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / without / man<sup>FS</sup> / her  
 'she came without her husband (FS)'

The Annexed State is used in the following contexts:

a. As a non-topicalized subject (following the verb), e.g.

*yeqqim waayaz di b̥arra*  
he.stayed<sup>0</sup> / man<sup>AS</sup> / in / outside  
'the man (AS) remained outside'

b. After all prepositions, except *ař* and *b̥ra*, e.g.

*baba-s n waayaz*  
father-his / of / man<sup>AS</sup>  
'the father of the man (AS)'

*yeššur-it s waman*  
he.filled<sup>0</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / with / water<sup>AS</sup>  
'he filled it with water (AS)'

c. As a post-topic, put in extraposition to the central clause (see 14.3), e.g.

*d asemمام, uyi-ya*  
PRED / sour<sup>MSG:FS</sup> / milk<sup>AS</sup>-this  
'it is sour, this milk' (AS)

d. After a few pre-nominal elements, see 3.5.

State is only expressed in Class I nouns; the other noun types have no state distinction. A modifying adjective is always in the Free State, whatever the state of the noun it modifies, e.g.

*s uyi asemمام*  
with / milk<sup>AS</sup> / sour<sup>MSG:FS</sup>  
'with the buttermilk (lit. sour milk)'

*n waayaz ameqqrان*  
of / man<sup>AS</sup> / big<sup>MSG:FS</sup>  
'of the big (FS) man (AS)'

### 3.2 The morphology of the noun

#### 3.2.1 Class I: Nouns with Berber affixes

As a rule of thumb, nouns belonging to Class I can be recognised by the fact that they start in a plain vowel (*a*, *i* or *u*) or in *t*. There are a few exceptions to this, however. In the first place, the majority of nouns starting in *arr* belong to Class II, as the initial *a* is due to the influence of *r* (cf. 2.3.7). Still, there are a few nouns in *arr* which belong to Class I. Cf. the difference between

<i>arrud</i> (FS), <i>warrud</i> (AS)	'clothing'	(Class I)
<i>arrida</i> (no difference in state)	'love'	(Class II)

In the second place, there is a relatively important group of nouns with stems starting in a consonant which belong to Class I (see below).

The basic structure of nouns with Berber affixes is as follows:

PREFIX-STEM-(SUFFIX)

Gender is expressed by changes in the prefix and the suffix. Number can be expressed in the prefix, the suffix and the stem. State is exclusively expressed in the prefix.

In the following paragraphs the many irregularities in the formation of the noun will be explained. It is, however, useful to give an overview of the most common forms first. The following table lists the different forms of the adjective *ameqqran* 'big':

	SG:M	SG:F	PL:M	PL:F
Free State	<i>ameqqran</i>	<i>tameqqrant</i>	<i>imeqqranen</i>	<i>timeqqranin</i>
Annexed State	<i>umeqqran</i>	<i>tmeqqrant</i>	<i>imeqqranen</i>	<i>tmeqqranin</i>

### 3.2.2 Class I: The formation of the feminine

Gender derivation<sup>11</sup> is relatively straightforward. The feminine is derived from the masculine form by adding an element *t* to the prefix, as well as the use of special gender suffixes. The feminine singular suffix is mostly *-t*. According to phonological rules, in word-final consonant clusters, *-t* appears as *-t* (For assimilations due to the adjunction of *-t*, see 2.4.2).

<i>azru</i> (M)	'stone'	<i>tazru<sup>t</sup></i> (F)	'little stone, battery'
<i>ir̥ef</i> (M)	'boar'	<i>ti̥eft</i> (F)	'sow'
<i>azyaw</i> (M)	'big basket'	<i>tazyawt</i> (F)	'basket'
<i>aqidun</i> (M)	'big tent'	<i>taqidunt</i> (F)	'tent'

Some words ending in *-u* and *-i* have *-t* instead of *-t*, e.g.

<i>pabu</i> (M)	'male turkey'	<i>t̥pabut</i> (F)	'turkey'
		<i>tsi̥rit</i> (F)	'shoe' (cf. PL <i>t̥isira</i> )

In addition, with a fair number of nouns the feminine suffix is *-et*, e.g.

<i>t̥iažet</i> (F)	'embers'
<i>thānet</i> (F)	'shop'

Class I words ending in *-a* never get a feminine suffix; gender is only expressed in the prefix. The same is true for a number of words ending in *-i*, e.g.

<i>tamža</i> (F)	'ogress'	<i>tizi</i> (F)	'valley'
<i>tařa</i> (F)	'source'	<i>tři</i> (F)	'shadow'
<i>tq̥aqra</i> (F)	'frog'	<i>timessi</i> (F)	'fire'
<i>tmižza</i> (F)	'throat'	<i>taziri</i> (F)	'full moon'

In a few cases, the masculine has a stem in *-iw*, while the feminine ends in *-a*, e.g.

<i>amžiwan</i> (M)	'ogre'	<i>tamža</i> (F)	'ogress'
<i>aq̥aqriwan</i> (M)	'frog'	<i>tq̥aqra</i> (F)	'frog'

<sup>11</sup> The description and the examples represent the Free State. For the Annexed State, see 3.2.2.

In some cases the feminine adds a semivowel *w* or *y* to the stem, e.g.

<i>aziza</i> (M)	'blue'	<i>tažizawt</i> (F)	'blue'
<i>ayenža</i> (M)	'ladle'	<i>tajenžašt</i> (F)	'spoon' (< * <i>tajenžayt</i> )

The semivowel reappears in the plural (M and F), e.g. *izizawen* 'blue (PL:M)', *iyenžayen* 'ladles' (PL:M).

The feminine plural is derived from the masculine plural by adding *t-* to the prefix (just like the singular), and by changing the masculine plural suffixes *-en* and *-an* in *-in*. When there is no masculine plural suffix (see 3.2.4), there is no feminine plural suffix either. Examples:

<i>afunas</i> (SG:M)	<i>ifunasen</i> (PL:M)	'ox(en)'
<i>tafunast</i> (SG:F)	<i>tifunasin</i> (PL:F)	'cow(s)'
<i>aabib</i> (SG:M)	<i>iabiben</i> (PL:M)	'stepson(s)'
<i>taabift</i> (SG:F)	<i>tiabibin</i> (PL:F)	'stepdaughter(s)'
<i>ařyem</i> (SG:M)	<i>iřeyman</i> (PL:M)	'camel(s)'
<i>tařyent</i> (SG:F)	<i>tiřeymin</i> (PL:F)	'female camel(s)'
<i>aspanyu</i> (SG:M)	<i>išpunya</i> (PL:M)	'Spanish man'
<i>tašpanyut</i> (SG:F)	<i>tišpunya</i> (PL:F)	'Spanish woman'

### 3.2.3 Class I: State

State is only expressed in the prefix of Class I nouns. One noun changes its stem shape with the state: *tammuqt* (FS) – *tmuqt* (AS) 'country'.

Consonant-initial noun stems occur with two different Free State prefix vowels: *a* and *i*. The prefix *a* is only found in singular nouns, the prefix *i* is mainly found in plural nouns, but occasionally occurs in singular nouns too.

FS prefix <i>a</i> (always singular)		FS prefix <i>i</i> (mostly plural)	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>i</i>
AS	<i>we</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ye</i>
FS	<i>asnus</i>	<i>taſnust</i>	<i>isnas</i>
AS	<i>wesnus</i>	<i>teſnust</i>	<i>yesnas</i>
'donkey foal'		'donkey foals'	

A similar system is found in masculine nouns with underlying initial *r*, however, the phonetic outcome is somewhat different due to its vocalization:

FS	<i>aayaz</i>	<i>iayazen</i>
AS	<i>waayaz</i>	<i>yaayazen</i>
	'man'	'men'

In the Annexed State of the masculine, the high vowels *u* and *i* are used instead of the semivowels *w* and *y* when the noun stem starts with a consonant followed by a vowel (including schwa). The feminine AS prefix does not have schwa under this condition. This has to do with the constraint on schwa in open syllables (see 2.2).

FS prefix <i>a</i>		FS prefix <i>i</i>		
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>
AS	<i>u</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>t</i>
FS	<i>afunas</i>	<i>tafunast</i>	<i>ifunasen</i>	<i>tifunasin</i>
AS	<i>ufunas</i>	<i>tfunast</i>	<i>ifunasen</i>	<i>tfunasin</i>
	'bull'	'cow'	'bulls'	'cows'

There are a number of nouns that have no prefix vowel in the Free State singular, but where the prefix reappears in the masculine Annexed State and in the plural. All these nouns have a stem beginning with a consonant followed by a plain vowel *a*, *i* or *u*.

FS prefix $\emptyset$ (singular)		FS prefix <i>i</i> (plural)		
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
FS	$\emptyset$	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>
AS	<i>u</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>t</i>
FS	<i>fus</i>	<i>tsiřit</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	<i>tisiřa</i>
AS	<i>ufus</i>	<i>tsiřit</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	<i>tsiřa</i>
	'hand'	'shoe'	'hands'	'shoes'

This type is common among basic Berber nouns, but also includes an important number of European loans, e.g. *karru* (FS) – *ukarru* (AS) 'cart' (< Spanish *carro*).

The great majority of noun stems start in a consonant. There are also nouns stems with an initial vowel (known as *voyelle constante* in Berberological tradition). These have different morphology. In the Annexed State, the stem-initial vowel is maintained. As a consequence, there is no difference between Free State and Annexed State in the feminine. The stem-initial vowel is maintained in the plural (for details see below).

	Stem-initial <i>a</i>		Stem-initial <i>i</i>		Stem-initial <i>u</i>	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
FS	<i>a</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>tu</i>
AS	<i>wa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>tu</i>
FS	<i>anu</i>	<i>tařa</i>	<i>išš</i>	<i>tizi</i>	<i>uššen</i>	<i>tuššent</i>
AS	<i>wanu</i>	<i>tařa</i>	<i>yišš</i>	<i>tizi</i>	<i>wuššen</i>	<i>tuššent</i>
	'well'	'source'	'horn'	'valley'	'jackal (M.)'	'jackal (F.)'

### 3.2.4 Class I: Plural formation

Plurals are derived from the singular by a number of processes: change of the prefix from *a* to *i*, suffixing of *-en* (PL:M), *-an* (PL:M) or *-in* (PL:F), and/or changes in the vowels of the stem, e.g.

<i>afedžah</i>	<i>ifedžahen</i>	'farmer'
<i>tafedžaht</i>	<i>tifedžahin</i>	'farmer woman'
<i>asřem</i>	<i>isěřman</i>	'fish'
<i>azru</i>	<i>izra</i>	'stone'

#### Number marking in the prefix

Number marking in the prefix is relatively straightforward: the prefixes *a* and *ta* become *i* and *ti* (*i*- and *te* in the Annexed State). Nouns which have the prefix vowel *i* in the singular have the same prefix vowel in the singular and in the plural, e.g.

*iyess*      *ixsan* (AS: *iyess* – *yexsan*) 'bone'

There are a couple of divergent cases regarding the prefix.

In the first place, CV-initial stems which have no prefix vowel in the Free State singular have prefixes in the plural, e.g.

*daa*      *iđaan*      'foot'      (< \*đar – \*idar(e)n)  
*thānet*      *tiħuna*      'shop'

In the second place, with vowel-initial stems, the plural treats the stem-initial vowel in a number of ways:

a. It is maintained. This is always the case with *u*, and often the case with *a* and *i*, e.g.

## FREE STATE

<i>afriw</i>	<i>afriwen</i>
<i>udem</i>	<i>udmawen</i>
<i>ifis</i>	<i>ifisen</i>
<i>tařa</i>	<i>tařiwin</i>
<i>tušent</i>	<i>tušanin</i>
<i>tit̪</i>	<i>tit̪awin</i>

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<i>wafriw</i>	<i>wafriwen</i>	'wing'
<i>wudem</i>	<i>wudmawen</i>	'face'
<i>yifis</i>	<i>yifisen</i>	'hyena'
<i>tařa</i>	<i>tařiwin</i>	'source'
<i>tušent</i>	<i>tušanin</i>	'female jackal'
<i>tit̪</i>	<i>tit̪awin</i>	'eye'

b. *i* is changed to *a*, e.g.

<i>išš</i>	<i>aššawen</i>
<i>timmi</i>	<i>tammiwin</i>

<i>yišš</i>	<i>waššawen</i>
<i>timmi</i>	<i>tammiwin</i>

'horn'
'eyebrow'

c. In one word, *a* is optionally changed to *i*:

*awař* *iwařen* (~ *awařen*) *wawař* *yiwařen* (~ *wawařen*) 'word'

## Number marking by suffixes

With regards to stem-internal and suffixal processes, there are two groups: the first group has plural suffixes, while the second group uses stem-internal vowel changes instead. The suffixes used in plural formation are Masculine *-en*, *-an* and Feminine *-in*. Many nouns form their plurals simply by suffixing *-en* or *-in* in addition to changes in the prefix, e.g.

<i>amezzyan</i>	<i>imezzyanen</i>	'small (M)'
<i>tamezzyan</i>	<i>timezzyanin</i>	'small (F)'

Due to regular phonetic developments, *-en* becomes *-n* after *aa* (< *ar*), while in forms with *-an* and *-in*, the *r* reappears:

<i>amyaā</i>	<i>imyaan</i>	'father-in-law, chieftain'
vs. <i>fiyāa</i>	<i>ifiyāan</i>	'viper'
<i>tamyāat</i>	<i>timyārin</i>	'woman, wife' <sup>12</sup>

The adjunction of *-en*, *-an* and *-in* may lead to changes in the position of schwa (see 2.2), e.g.

<i>asřem</i>	<i>iseřman</i>	'fish'
<i>amesřem</i>	<i>imseřmen</i>	'Muslim man'
<i>tamesřent</i>	<i>timseřmin</i>	'Muslim woman'

Among the suffixes, *-en* and *-in* are by far the most common. The suffix *-an* only occurs in a limited number of nouns. It sometimes causes deletion of a preceding vowel, e.g.

<i>ařyem</i>	<i>iřeyman</i>	'camel'
<i>azwāa</i>	<i>izewrān</i>	'root, vein'

<sup>12</sup> Note the difference between *fiyāa*, which comes from \**fiyēr* and *tamyāat*, which comes from \**tamyart*.

<i>itri</i>	<i>itran</i>	'star'
<i>izi</i>	<i>izan</i>	'fly'

While simple suffixation is the most common means of making suffixed plurals, there exist quite a number of other processes which can cooccur with the appearance of the plural suffix.

a. Insertion of a semivowel *w* or *y*, sometimes leading to changes in the stem, e.g.

<i>aziza</i>	<i>izizawen</i>	'blue'
<i>anewži</i>	<i>inewžiwen</i>	'guest'
<i>ayenža</i>	<i>iyenžayen</i>	'ladle'
<i>aženna</i>	<i>iženwan</i>	'sky'
<i>tazeqqa</i>	<i>tizeywin</i>	'roof'

Often, *w* is accompanied by a preceding *i* or *a*, which may take the place of the final vowel of the singular stem, e.g.

<i>uř</i>	<i>uřawen</i>	'heart'
<i>iri</i>	<i>irawen</i>	'neck'
<i>aberč</i>	<i>abřiwen</i>	'eyelash'
<i>taymaat</i>	<i>tiyemriwin</i>	'corner'

b. Insertion of *t* or *-at*, e.g.

<i>anu</i>	<i>anuṭen</i>	'well'
<i>karru</i>	<i>ikarruṭen</i>	'cart'
<i>tfiyra</i>	<i>tifiyraṭin</i>	'snake'
<i>tasřit</i>	<i>tisřatín</i>	'bride'
<i>tiřeft</i>	<i>tiřfaṭin</i>	'sow'

c. Nouns which suffix *-an* (and corresponding feminine nouns in *-in*) sometimes cause deletion of a plain vowel in the stem and degemination of geminate consonants, e.g.

<i>asěmmus</i>	<i>išemsan</i>	'wrapping'
<i>tašemmust</i>	<i>tišemsin</i>	'small wrapping'

d. In a number of basic words with CVC stems, there is suffixation of *-en/-in* accompanied by gemination and vowel change:

<i>fud</i>	<i>ifadden</i>	'knee'
<i>fus</i>	<i>ifassen</i>	'hand'
<i>žiž</i>	<i>ižažen</i>	'peg'

Further irregularities are found in the following nouns (the list is not exhaustive):

<i>dad</i>	<i>iđuđan</i>	'finger'
<i>tiň</i>	<i>tiňtawin</i>	'eye'
<i>tsa</i>	<i>tišattin</i>	'liver'
<i>iyess</i>	<i>ixsan</i>	'bone'
<i>aydi</i>	<i>iṭan</i>	'dog'
<i>tyaṭṭ</i>	<i>tiyatiṭin</i>	'goat'
<i>iyeyd</i>	<i>iyeyden</i>	'kid'

<i>išarri</i>	<i>ašraan</i>	'ram'
<i>uššen</i>	<i>uššanen</i>	'jackal'
<i>yis</i>	<i>iysan</i>	'horse'

### Number marking by vowel changes in the stem

The second group of plurals have no suffix, but vowel changes in the stem instead. The basic vocalic pattern of the plural in this group is (u)-a. This pattern applies to the singular stem in the following manner:

a. Nouns which have only a plain vowel (*i*, *u*) in the last syllable of the stem change this vowel to *a*, e.g.

<i>aždič</i>	<i>iždač</i>	'bird'
<i>taždičč</i>	<i>tiždač</i>	'little bird'
<i>ayyuč</i>	<i>iyyač</i>	'donkey'
<i>tayyuč</i>	<i>tiyyač</i>	'female donkey' (< *tayyuč - tiyyač)
<i>azru</i>	<i>ižra</i>	'stone'

A few nouns with the stem type CCVC insert *u* between the first two consonants of the stem, e.g.

<i>adraa</i>	<i>iduraa</i>	'mountain'
<i>abyas</i>	<i>ibuyas</i>	'belt'

b. Nouns which have a schwa in the final syllable of the stem and no plain vowel insert *a* in between the two last consonants of the noun stem, e.g.

<i>tiymest</i>	<i>tiymas</i>	'tooth'
<i>tiggest</i>	<i>tiggaz</i>	'tattoo'
<i>inaqafed</i>	<i>inaqafad</i>	'spleen' (< *inerfed - * inerfad)

c. Noun stems which have two plain vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) change the plain vowel in the last syllable to *a*. The preceding plain vowel remains unchanged if it is a high vowel (*i* or *u*); If it is *a*, it is changed to *u*. The same process is found when nouns of this type have schwa in the final syllable, e.g.

<i>ṣurif</i>	<i>iṣuraf</i>	'step'
<i>ṭsiřit</i>	<i>tisiřa</i>	'shoe'
<i>aneggaru</i>	<i>ineggura</i>	'last'
<i>šappu</i>	<i>išuppa</i>	'hat'
<i>ameddukeč</i>	<i>imeddukač</i>	'friend'
<i>ṭhanet</i>	<i>tižuna</i>	'shop'

Note that the sound transcribed as *aa* may stand for underlying /er/. In such cases, *aa* is not counted as a plain vowel, and does not undergo vowel changes, e.g.

*asaadun*      *isaadan* (not: \*\**isuadan*) 'mule' (< \*aserdun)

There are a number of plurals with irregular vowel changes, cf. (the list is not exhaustive):

<i>awessaā</i>	<i>iwessura</i>	'old' (M)
<i>ṭawessaat</i>	<i>tiwessura</i>	'old'(F)
<i>tammuat</i>	<i>timura</i>	'country'

<i>tawwuqt</i>	<i>tiwwura</i>	'door'
<i>adehšuq</i>	<i>iđehšura</i>	'deaf'
<i>ayezdis</i>	<i>iyezdisa</i>	'side, rib'
<i>tmaat</i>	<i>timira</i>	'beard'
<i>tišti</i>	<i>tiyyiṭa</i>	'blow'

### 3.3 Class II: Nouns with Arabic morphology

Nouns with Arabic morphology basically have the following structure:

ARABIC ARTICLE-STEM-(SUFFIX)

Class II nouns do not differentiate between Free and Annexed state. The Arabic article is *ṛ*; in Berber, it is simply part of the word. When it is followed by an interdental, alveolar or prepalatal consonant, it is assimilated to the stem consonant, according to Moroccan Arabic rules, e.g.

<i>ddexxan</i>	'smoke'
<i>ddra</i>	'maize'
<i>ttmenyat</i>	'money'
<i>ṭṭram</i>	'darkness'
<i>zzešt</i>	'oil'
<i>ssensret</i>	'chain'
<i>ssabun</i>	'soap'
<i>ssēaa</i>	'hair'
<i>żżaqf</i>	'cliff'

According to the sound shifts of Tarifiyt, *ṛ-ṛ* (< \*l-l) becomes *dž* (\*ll) while initial *rr* is automatically preceded by *a*, e.g.

<i>džuz</i> (< *lluz)	'almonds'
<i>arrif</i> (< *rrif)	'the Rif'

In 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>th</sup> century loans from Moroccan and Standard Arabic, the article sometimes has the shape *l* instead of *ṛ*, e.g. *lmuellim* 'teacher'. The geminate *ll* may be maintained, e.g. *lleššin* 'orange'. In loans from Standard Arabic, *l* does not always assimilate to *ž*, e.g. *lžarima* 'crime'. The Arabic article has no meaning in Tarifiyt and cannot be omitted. Class II nouns can be used both in definite and in indefinite contexts, e.g. *ṛeušš* 'the nest, a nest'.

Many loans from Spanish lack the article. As far as they resemble Arabic loans in their plural formation, they will be included in Class II, cf. *yabyuṭa* - *yabyuṭat* 'sea-gull', *spiṭaq* - *spiṭaqat* 'hospital'.

The large majority of feminine words have the suffix *-et* in the singular, e.g.

<i>ṛyabet</i>	'woods'
<i>ṛgeedet</i>	'slope'
<i>ṛedimet</i>	'work'
<i>ṛemħiamet</i>	'handkerchief'

There are some feminine words, which have no feminine marking, e.g. *ṭṭumubin* 'car'. 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>th</sup> century loans from Moroccan or Standard Arabic as well as loans from Spanish often have *-a* instead of *-et*, e.g.

<i>ṭṭiyara</i>	'airplane'
<i>ṛeknina</i>	'pill, tablet'
<i>lkanisa</i>	'church'
<i>ṛbumba</i>	'bomb'

The plural follows the Arabic example. Many nouns, including most European loans in this class, have a plural suffix *-at* or, less frequently, *-awat*, e.g.

<i>ṭṭiyara</i>	<i>ṭṭiyarat</i>	'airplane'
<i>ssekwiла</i>	<i>ssekwiлаt</i>	'school'
<i>spiṭaq</i>	<i>spiṭarat</i>	'hospital'
<i>ṛbanku</i>	<i>ṛbankawat</i>	'bank (financial institution)'
<i>ddisku</i>	<i>ddiskawat</i>	'song'
<i>lfilem</i>	<i>lfilmawat</i>	'movie'

Most nouns in this class, however, follow the intricate vowel changes typical of Arabic morphology. One common pattern is the application of a pattern *aCi*, in which *C* is the last consonant of the singular stem. When this *C* is preceded by a vowel, one gets *ya* or *wa*, e.g.

<i>zzenqet</i>	<i>zznaqi</i>	'street'
<i>ṛyabet</i>	<i>ṛeywabi</i>	'woods'
<i>džiret</i>	<i>džyaři</i>	'night'

There are many other morphological patterns, as exemplified by the following words:

<i>nnhqaq</i>	<i>nnhura</i>	'day'
<i>ṛbit</i>	<i>ṛebut</i>	'room'
<i>ṛmus</i>	<i>ṛemwas</i>	'knife'
<i>ṛqendaat</i>	<i>ṛeqnadaa</i>	'bridge'

### 3.4 Class III: Nouns without affixes

The small group of nouns without affixes mainly consists of kinship terms. These nouns have no regular gender derivation, and often use suppletive plurals. Nouns of this class do not mark the distinction between Free and Annexed state.

Kinship terms belonging to this group refer to the first person when they are not followed by pronominal suffixes; thus *mmi* translates as 'my son', not as 'son'. Different from the other classes, kinship terms of Class III can take pronominal affixes, cf. the difference between the Class I kinship term *ayyaw* 'son of paternal aunt, son of sister, grandson' and the Class III kinship term *henna* 'grandmother':

1SG	<i>ayyaw inu</i>	'my grandson'	<i>henna</i>	'my grandmother'
3SG	<i>ayyaw nnes</i>	'his grandson'	<i>henna-s</i>	'his grandmother'

With the Class I kinship term *ayyaw* a possessive construction with the preposition *n* 'of' is used, while the Class III kinship term *henna* has direct possession by means of the suffix *-s*.

When the relation is to an explicitly mentioned third person, Class III kinship terms need a "his grandmother of X"-construction, which is impossible with other types of nouns, e.g.

*henna-s n Naeima* 'the (lit.: her) grandmother of Naeima' (grandmother: Class III)  
 cf. *ayyaw n Naeima* 'the grandson of Naeima' (grandson: Class I)

The main kinship terms belonging to Class III are the following:

SINGULAR	PLURAL	
<i>uma</i>	<i>ayeṭma</i>	'my brother'
<i>učma</i>	<i>issma</i>	'my sister'
<i>bača</i>	<i>ibabaten</i>	'my father' <sup>13</sup>
<i>yemma</i>	<i>tiyemmatin</i>	'my mother'
<i>mmi</i>		'my son' <sup>14</sup>
<i>yedži</i>	<i>issi</i>	'my daughter'
<i>ezizi</i>	<i>emumi, ewazizi</i>	'my paternal uncle'
<i>centi</i>	<i>ewanti</i>	'my paternal aunt'
<i>xaři</i>	<i>xwaři</i>	'my maternal uncle'
<i>xači</i>	<i>xwači</i>	'my maternal aunt'
<i>žeddi</i>	<i>řeždud</i>	'my grandfather' <sup>15</sup>
<i>henna</i>	<i>tihennačin</i>	'my grandmother' <sup>16</sup>
<i>lalla</i>		'the wife of my paternal uncle; my mother-in-law (of a woman); my mistress'

Note that *ayeṭma* 'my brothers' is special, because it has an opposition between Free State and Annexed State: FS: *ayeṭma*, AS: *yayetma*, e.g. *n yayetma* 'of my brothers'. In addition to these kinship terms, there are a few other nouns in this class, e.g. *řaž* 'hunger', *fad* 'thirst', *temzi* 'youth', *mašša* 'food'. Different from kinship terms, these words cannot take pronominal suffixes.

### 3.5 Pre-nominal elements

There are a couple of proclitics to the noun. Most important among these are two series, one meaning 'someone belonging to X' and one meaning 'somebody who has X'.

The first series is found in terms of tribal affiliation; in such cases, the PL:M also indicates the name of the tribe:

SG:M	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-Seid</i>	'somebody belonging to the Ayt Said'
PL:M	<i>ayt- ~ at-</i>	<i>ayt- / at-Seid</i>	'(people belonging to) the Ayt Said'

<sup>13</sup> The plurals *ibabaten* and *tiyemmatin* belong to Class I; they are not entirely parallel to *bača* and *yemma* as they do not inherently refer to a first person (which would be odd anyhow).

<sup>14</sup> In the plural, one can use *tqawa (inu)* or *iħenžian (inu)* '(my) children'; *iħenžian* is the plural of *ahenžia* which means 'boy, child', but is normally not used in order to denote kinship in the singular.

<sup>15</sup> The plural belongs to class II. It can also mean 'ancestors'.

<sup>16</sup> The plural *tihennačin* belongs to Class I.

The Annexed State of *ayt* is *yayt* : *n yayt-Seid* 'of the Ayt Said'. The expressions for female members of the tribe have special morphology, which is in between Class I morphology and the use of prenominal elements:

SG:F      *tu-* ... -*t*      *tuseitt*      'a woman belonging to the Ayt Said'

PL:F      *tyayt-*      *tyayt-seid*      'women belonging to the Ayt Said'

Note that many tribal names are constructed as Class I nouns and do not have a prenominal element, e.g.

SG:M      *aqeřei*      'man belonging to the Iqeřciyen tribe'

SG:F      *taqeřeešt*      'woman belonging to the Iqeřciyen tribe'

PL:M      *iqeřciyen*      'men belonging to the Iqeřciyen tribe; the Iqeřciyen tribe'

PL:F      *tiqueřciyin*      'women belonging to the Iqeřciyen tribe'

The second series of pre-nominal elements denotes the owner of something, or somebody associated with it. The noun which follows is in the Annexed State. This series is only used in the singular:

SG:M      *bu-*      *bu-tyarrabut*<sup>17</sup>      'a male owner of a boat'

SG:F      *mu-*      *mu-tyarrabut*      'a female owner of a boat'

When used with body parts, *bu/m* is expressive, e.g.

*bu-yyemzan* (M)      *m(u)-iyemzan* (F)      '(wo)man with ugly big teeth'

*b(u)-uzedžif* (M)      *m(u)-uzedžif* (F)      '(wo)man with an ugly big head'

*bu-tquqqušin* (M)      *mu-tquqqušin* (F)      '(fe)male with lovely eyes (esp. babies)'

<sup>17</sup> The Free State form of the noun is *tyarrabut*.

## 4. The verb

### 4.1 Conjugation

Tarifiyt Berber verbs are conjugated by means of affixes that mark the person, number and gender of the subject. The affixes come before and after the stem. There are two sets of subject affixes: imperative affixes and normal affixes.

Imperative conjugation (Aorist examples)

2SG	-	<i>qqim</i>	'sit down!'
2PL:M	STEM- <i>et</i> ~ <i>-em</i>	<i>qqimet</i> ~ <i>qqimem</i>	
2PL:F	STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>qqiment</i>	

When the Imperative 2PL:M suffix is combined with the deictic clitic *d* 'hither', it takes the form *-ttiw*, e.g. *as-d* 'come here (singular)' > *as-ttiw* 'come here (PL:M)', *asent-id* 'come here (PL:F)'.

Normal conjugation (Aorist/Perfective examples)

1SG	STEM- <i>ey</i>	<i>qqimey</i>	'I sit'
2SG	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>ed</i>	<i>teqqimed</i>	'you sit'
3SG:M	<i>ye</i> -STEM	<i>yeqqim</i>	'he sits'
3SG:F	<i>te</i> -STEM	<i>teqqim</i>	'she sits'
1PL	<i>ne</i> -STEM	<i>neqqim</i>	'we sit'
2PL:M	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>em</i>	<i>teqqimem</i>	'you (men) sit'
2PL:F	<i>te</i> -STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>teqqiment</i>	'you (women) sit'
3PL:M	STEM- <i>en</i>	<i>qqimen</i>	'they (men) sit'
3PL:F	STEM- <i>ent</i>	<i>qqiment</i>	'they (women) sit'

The masculine plural refers to all-masculine or all-male groups or to mixed groups with both males and females (or masculine and feminine objects); the feminine plural refers only to all-feminine and all-female groups.

The injunctive is formed by combining the first person plural prefix with the imperative plural suffix:

ne-STEM- <i>et</i>	(a) <i>neqqimet</i> <sup>18</sup>	'let's sit'
ne-STEM- <i>ent</i>	(a) <i>neqqiment</i>	'let's sit (women)'

In addition to these two conjugations, there is a form without subject-reference, which is used in relative clauses where the head (antecedent) functions as the subject of the relative clause (see 15.2.1). In Berberological tradition, this form is called the Participle, even though it is a purely verbal form, which has no nominal characteristics.

Participle (Aorist/Perfective examples)

SG/PL/M/F	<i>ye</i> -STEM- <i>en</i>	<i>yeqqimen</i>	'(that) sit(s)'
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The basic form of the affixes is the same for all verbs and aspects, however, some minor changes take place when the suffixes are added to the verb. The following changes have to do with the place of schwa, and follow to a large part from the rules formulated in section 2.2:

- Vowel-initial verb stems (incl. those with *aa* < *r*) have prefixes without schwa, e.g. *yudef* 'he went in', *yaqwer* 'he fled'.
- When the stem starts in a consonant followed by a vowel (plain *a*, *i*, *u* or schwa), there is no schwa in the prefix. The 3SG:M prefix *ye-* is realized *i-* under this condition, e.g. *isedžem* 'he greeted'.
- Because of the constraint against schwa in open syllables, the adjunction of a subject suffix may lead to changes in the syllable structure of the stem, e.g. *šnef* 'roast!' 1:SG *šenfey* 'I roasted'.

In addition, in verbs with final \**ey* and \**ew* the semivowel becomes *i* and *u*, respectively, when no suffix follows, while it is maintained when a suffix follows. Cf. the conjugation of the verbs *šnef* 'to roast'<sup>19</sup>, *zři* (\**zřey*) 'to turn' and *hřu* (\**hřew*) 'to gulp':

<sup>18</sup> The injunctive is only used in combination with the preverbal particle *a(d)*.

<sup>19</sup> Note that the Imperative singular is used as the citation form.

Imperative conjugation (Aorist forms)			
2SG	šnef	zři	hřu
2PL:M	šenfet ~ šenfem	zeřyet ~ zeřyem	heřwet ~ heřwem
2PL:F	šenfent	zeřyent	heřwent
Normal conjugation (Aorist/Perfective forms)			
1SG	šenfey	zeřyey	heřwey
2SG	ťšenfed	ťzeřyed	ťheřwed
3SG:M	yešnef	yezři	yeřhu
3SG:F	ťešnef	ťezři	ťehřu
1PL	nešnef	nezři	neřhu
2PL:M	ťšenfem	ťzeřyem	ťheřwem
2PL:F	ťšenfent	ťzeřyent	ťheřwent
3PL:M	šenfen	zeřyen	heřwen
3PL:F	šenfent	zeřyent	heřwent
Participle (Aorist/Perfective forms)			
	išenfen	izerýen	iheřwen
	'to roast'	'to turn'	'to gulp'

Note that verbs ending in the vowels *i* or *u* which are not derived from \*ey or \*ew have no schwa in the suffix, e.g. *yefu* 'he forgave', *efun* 'they forgave'; *yeši* 'he took', *ksin* 'they took'.

e. There are also a couple of changes that are not related to the placement of schwa.

In the first place, verb stems consisting of one or two consonants without a plain vowel (*a, i, u*) in the imperative have special forms in the Perfective. In the Perfective, the stem is expanded by the vowel *a* when no suffix follows and by *i* when a suffix follows.

In the second place, verbs ending in the vowel *a* change *a* to *i* in the 1SG and 2SG in all aspectual forms (see the table below). Verbs that end in the plain vowel *u* do not change the vowel.

The following table shows the conjugation of a verb ending in *a*, *wđa* 'to fall', a verb with special Perfective vocalization, *yez* 'to dig', and of a verb ending in *u* with no further vowel changes, *efu* 'to forgive'.

Imperative conjugation				
2SG	<i>efu</i>	<i>wđa</i>	<i>yez</i>	
2PL:M	<i>efut ~ efüm</i>	<i>wđat ~ wđam</i>	<i>yzet ~ yzem</i>	
2PL:F	<i>efunt</i>	<i>wđant</i>	<i>yzent</i>	
Normal conjugation				
	A/P	A/P	A	P
1SG	<i>efuy</i>	<i>wđiy</i>	<i>yzey</i>	<i>yziy</i>
2SG	<i>teefud</i>	<i>tewđid</i>	<i>teyzed</i>	<i>teyzid</i>
3SG:M	<i>yesfu</i>	<i>yewđa</i>	<i>yez</i>	<i>yeza</i>
3SG:F	<i>teefu</i>	<i>tewđa</i>	<i>teyz</i>	<i>teyza</i>
1PL	<i>neefu</i>	<i>newđa</i>	<i>neyz</i>	<i>neyza</i>
2PL:M	<i>teefum</i>	<i>tewđam</i>	<i>teyzem</i>	<i>teyzim</i>
2PL:F	<i>teefunt</i>	<i>tewđant</i>	<i>teyzent</i>	<i>teyzint</i>
3PL:M	<i>efun</i>	<i>wđan</i>	<i>yzen</i>	<i>yzin</i>
3PL:F	<i>efunt</i>	<i>wđant</i>	<i>yzent</i>	<i>yzint</i>
Participle:				
	<i>yefun</i>	<i>yewđan</i>	<i>yezzen</i>	<i>yezin</i>
	'to forgive'	'to fall'	'to dig'	'to dig'

## 4.2 Derived verbs

Tarfift Berber has relatively regular means of verb derivation. There are three basic derivational prefixes: *ss-* 'causative', *mm-* 'middle' and *twa-* 'passive'. *ss-* and *mm-* are not always geminated. It is possible to combine the derivational morphemes to a certain extent.

As verb derivation is to a large degree related to transitivity, first some basic data on transitivity in underived verbs will be provided.

#### 4.2.1 Transitivity and valency

As regards transitivity, Tarifiyt Berber underived verbs fall into three major groups: transitive, intransitive and labile.

Transitive underived verbs have a direct object, which may or may not be expressed depending on the verb, e.g.

yeswa aman  
he.drank<sup>P</sup> / water<sup>FS</sup>

‘he has drunk water’

yeswa

'he has drunk' (not: 'it has been drunk')

Intransitive underived verbs cannot be combined with a direct object, though some verbs take an indirect object.

yesřa i wawař  
he.heard<sup>P</sup> / to / word<sup>FS</sup>

‘he heard the words (indirect object)

Labile verbs occur in two different constructions. When used with a direct object, they are interpreted as active transitives, e.g.

ieemmaa aqbuš nnes  
he.filled<sup>P</sup> / jar<sup>FS</sup> / his

'he has filled his water jar'

When used in the Perfective, they may also function as stative intransitives. In this case the direct object of the transitive construction functions as the subject of the intransitive construction, e.g.

ieemmaa weqbuš nnes  
he.filled<sup>P</sup> / jar<sup>AS</sup> / his

'his water jar is filled

Labile verbs are very common in Tarifiyt Berber.

#### 4.2.2 The causative prefix *ss-*

The most commonly found derivational prefix is *ss-* 'causative'. It is used with all three types of verbs:

a. Intransitive verbs become transitive when the causative suffix is added, e.g.

<i>ggenfa</i>	'to be cured'	<i>sgenfa</i>	'to heal (somebody)'
<i>azzer</i>	'to run'	<i>ssizzer</i>	'to make run'

b. To transitive verbs a second direct object is added, which makes them ditransitive. Only a few verbs allow for this, e.g.

ss	'to eat'	sse <sup>ss</sup>	'to feed'
iad	'to wear'	ssiad	'to dress (somebody)'

c. Most labile verbs do not allow for a causative derivation.

Morphologically, the causative derivation shows a number of peculiarities. Initial geminate consonants are degeminated after *ss-*, e.g.

*sgenfa* ‘to be cured’      *sgenfa* ‘to heal (somebody)’

Two-consonantal verbs which have an initial geminate, add an *u* before the first consonant, e.g.

*ffey* 'to go out'      *ssufey* 'to let out'

There are a few exceptions to this rule, e.g.

*kkaa* 'to rise'      *sekkaa* 'to make rise'<sup>20</sup>

Verbs starting in *a* change this *a* into *i* in the Aorist and Perfective of the causative. The *a* reappears in the Imperfective (see 13.2), e.g.

*adef* 'to go in'      *ssidef* 'to let in'

#### 4.2.3 The middle prefix *mm-*

The middle prefix *mm-* (also *m-*) is mainly used to form reciprocals, e.g.

*řaya* 'to call'      *mřaya* 'to call each other'  
*ny* 'to kill'      *mney* 'to fight (lit. to kill each other)'

Some middles have passive semantics, e.g.

*ndaq* 'to throw'      *mmendaq* 'to be thrown'  
*aani* 'to add'      *mmaani* 'to be added'

When used in the Imperfective aspect, passive middle verbs get the connotation of being "X-able":

*temmenz třumubin-nni* 'the car has been sold' (Perfective)  
*she.is.sold<sup>P</sup> / car-that*

*temenza třumubin-nni* 'the car is sellable' (Imperfective)  
*she.is.sold<sup>I</sup> / car-that*

Note that the middle derivation is not used in reflexives, which are expressed by means of the phrase *ixefn-*, e.g.

*yewta ixefnnes* 'he hit himself'  
*he.hit<sup>P</sup> / self<sup>PS</sup> / his*

In reciprocals, alternative constructions with *ayawa* and *ižzen d wenneyni* (lit. 'one and the other') exist, which are used with verbs that do not allow for a middle derivation, e.g.

*nřaža ayawa* 'we waited for each other'  
*we.waited<sup>P</sup> / each.other*

*nřaža ižzen d wenneyni* 'we waited for each other'  
*we.waited<sup>P</sup> / one / and / the.other<sup>MSG</sup>*

The middle prefix has an allomorph *mř-* which is used with verbs starting in *a* in the Aorist, as well as with some other verbs, e.g.

<sup>20</sup> Historically, *kkaa* 'to rise' and its causative *sekkaa* are derived from \*nker. The nasal reappears in the Imperfective form *snakkaa*.

<i>ades</i>	'to be near'	<i>mřadas</i>	'to be near to each other'
<i>wwet</i>	'to hit'	<i>mřewta</i>	'to hit each other'

In addition, there are several allomorphs with *n*, mainly *nn-* and *nnu-*. Many examples have a labial consonant in the verb stem, which suggests that we are dealing with a conditioned variant of *m*. Most middles with *n* have passive semantics, e.g.

<i>dfes</i>	'to fold'	<i>nnedfes</i>	'to be folded'
<i>qazem</i>	'to open, to be open'	<i>nnuqazem</i>	'to be opened'
<i>ffaā</i>	'to hide (something/oneself)	<i>nnuffaā</i>	'to be hid'
<i>qřeb</i>	'to turn (sth.) around'	<i>nneqřeb</i>	'to turn (oneself) around'

#### 4.2.4 The passive prefix *twa-*

The prefix *twa-* is used to make a passive of transitive and labile verbs. It is impossible to use an agent phrase (*X* was done *by Y*) with a verb derived with *twa-*. Verbs with the passive prefix *twa-* cannot be used in the Imperfective (Cadi 2006). Examples:

<i>zzu</i>	'to plant'	<i>twazzu</i>	'to be planted'
<i>ss</i>	'to eat'	<i>twašš</i>	'to be eaten'

It is important to note that *twa-* can be used with labile verbs. There is a subtle difference between the intransitive reading of the underived labile verb and the passive derived verb. In the underived intransitive form, the focus is on the state (which may be a result or not), and the statement is about a situation rather than about an action. The agent of the action (though sometimes there is logically one) is not in the speaker's mind. The derived passive, on the other hand, puts the focus on the action, but without mentioning the actor. The use of the passive necessarily implies the presence of an unmentioned actor, e.g. (following Cadi 1987:109)

*išaaz ufedžah iyaa*  
he.ploughed<sup>P</sup> / farmer<sup>AS</sup> / field<sup>PS</sup>  
'the farmer ploughed the field'  
(transitive reading of the underived verb)

*išaaz yiyyaa*  
it<sup>M</sup>.(is).ploughed<sup>P</sup> / field<sup>AS</sup>  
'the field is ploughed' (used, for example, when describing a field)  
(intransitive reading of the underived verb)

*yetašaaz yiyyaa*  
it<sup>M</sup>.was.ploughed<sup>P</sup> / field<sup>AS</sup>  
'the field has been ploughed' (focus is on the action rather than on the situation eventually resulting from the action)  
(passive derived verb)

### 4.2.5 Combined derivations

To a limited extent, it is possible to combine derivations, e.g.

<i>ney</i>	'to kill'	<i>mney</i>	'to fight'	<i>ssemney</i>	'to make fight'
<i>řqa</i>	'to meet'	<i>mseřqa</i>	'to meet e.o.'	<i>semseřqa</i>	'to make meet e.o.'
<i>azzeř</i>	'to run'	<i>ssizeř</i>	'to make run'	<i>twasizeř</i>	'to be made/let run'

### 4.3 Mood/Aspect/Negation (MAN) stems

#### 4.3.1 General overview

Nador Tarifiyt verbs come in maximally five different stem forms, which are linked to the expression of mood, aspect and negation. These stems forms are called Mood/Aspect/Negation (MAN) stems. Among these, the negative stems only occur in combination with the preverbal negator *waa*.

Within Berber studies, there exists important terminological variation as to the naming of the five stems (see bibliography). In the following table, some of the more commonly used systems are listed, together with the system used here and the abbreviations. The example verb is *adef* 'to enter'.

Usage here	Abbr.	A. Basset	L. Galand	K.-G. Prasse	example
Aorist	A	aoriste	aoriste	imparfait simple	<i>adef</i>
Perfective	P	prétérit	accompli	parfait	<i>udef</i>
Imperfective <sup>21</sup>	I	aoriste intensif	inaccompli	imparfait intensif	<i>tadef</i>
Negative Perfective	NP	prétérit négatif	accompli négatif	parfait négatif	<i>udif</i>
Negative Imperfective	NI	aoriste intensif négatif	inaccompli négatif	imparfait intensif négatif	<i>tidif</i>

While some verbs, such as *adef* given above, have five different forms, other verbs have homonymy in one or more stem forms, e.g. *usu* 'to cough', which is *usu* in the Aorist, the Perfective and the Negative Perfective, and *tusu* in the Imperfective and the Negative Imperfective. A few verbs even have the same form in all MAN stems, *ssru* 'to make cry'.

The morphology of the MAN stems is easiest described taking the Aorist as the basis.

<sup>21</sup> In older literature, the term *habitatif* is also encountered.

### 4.3.2 The formation of the Perfective

Most verbs have a Perfective which is identical to the Aorist. The following groups of verbs have a formal difference between the two aspects:

a. Verbs starting in *a* change the vowel in *u*, e.g.

A <i>azzeř</i>	P <i>uzzeř</i>	'to run'
A <i>ades</i>	P <i>udes</i>	'to be near'

When the initial *a* of the Aorist is followed by *w*, the Perfective vowel is *i* instead of *u*, e.g.

A <i>awi</i>	P <i>iwi</i>	'to carry to'
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When the vowel *a* is the result of the vocalisation of *r* or *r̥*, the Aorist is identical to the Perfective, e.g.

A <i>qawer̥</i>	P <i>qawer̥</i>	'to flee' (< <i>rweř</i> )
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b. Aorist verbs without a plain vowel (*a, i, u*) that consist of two consonants or a geminate consonant add a vowel in the Perfective. This vowel is *a* when no suffix follows, and *i* when a suffix follows (see 4.1 for the full paradigm), e.g.

A <i>yεz</i>	P <i>yzi~a</i>	'to dig'
A <i>šš</i>	P <i>šši~a</i>	'to eat'
A <i>ns</i>	P <i>nsi~a</i>	'to spend the night'
A <i>su</i> (1SG: <i>swεy</i> )	P <i>swi~a</i>	'to drink'
A <i>ni</i> (1SG: <i>nyεy</i> )	P <i>nyi~a</i>	'to mount'

There is one exception: the verb *xs* 'to want' does not add the vowel in the Perfective:

A <i>xs</i>	P <i>xs</i>	'to want'
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Verbs consisting of *a* followed by a single consonant change *a* to *u* and add a vowel:

A <i>af</i>	P <i>ufi~a</i>	'to find'
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c. Verb stems starting with a geminated consonant followed by word-internal *a*, change *a* to *u* (*i* before *w*) in the Perfective:

A <i>džaz</i>	P <i>džuz</i>	'to be hungry'
A <i>ffad</i>	P <i>ffud</i>	'to be thirsty'
A <i>žžadž</i>	P <i>žžudž</i>	'to swear'
A <i>zzadž</i>	P <i>zzudž</i>	'to pray'
A <i>ššaq</i>	P <i>ššua</i> (~ <i>ššqɑ</i> )	'to fill'
A <i>žžawen</i>	P <i>žžiwen</i>	'to be satiated'

d. In addition there are a few irregular forms, e.g:

A <i>iři</i>	P <i>dža</i>	'to be'
A <i>ini</i>	P <i>nna</i>	'to say'
A <i>ari</i>	P <i>ura</i>	'to write'
A <i>azu</i>	P <i>uza</i>	'to skin'
A <i>wwet</i>	P <i>wti~a</i>	'to hit'

### 4.3.3 The formation of the Negative Perfective

The Negative Perfective is derived in a fairly regular fashion from the Perfective. The following rules apply:

a. When the Perfective of a verb has internal or final *a*, this vowel is changed to *i*. When the vowel is *u*, no change occurs, e.g.

A <i>wđa</i>	P <i>wđa</i>	NP <i>wđi</i>	'to fall'
A <i>sgenfa</i>	P <i>sgenfa</i>	NP <i>sgenfi</i>	'to cure'
A <i>af</i>	P <i>ufi-a</i>	NP <i>ufi</i>	'to find'
A <i>ewen</i>	P <i>ewen</i>	NP <i>eiwen</i>	'to help'
A <i>sawem</i>	P <i>sawem</i>	NP <i>siwem</i>	'to barter'
A <i>řaya</i>	P <i>řaya</i>	NP <i>řiyi</i>	'to call out for'

b. Verbs with two or three consonants which have no plain vowel (*a, i, u*; on vocalized *r* see below) in the last syllable of the Perfective stem, insert *i* before the final consonant, e.g.

A <i>řmed</i>	P <i>řmed</i>	NP <i>řmid</i>	'to learn'
A <i>ades</i>	P <i>udes</i>	NP <i>udis</i>	'to be near'
A <i>ffey</i>	P <i>ffey</i>	NP <i>ffiy</i>	'to go out'

When the second consonant is a geminate, *i* is not added, e.g.

A <i>bedd</i>	P <i>bedd</i>	NP <i>bedd</i>	'to stand'
A <i>fedžeq</i>	P <i>fedžeq</i>	NP <i>fedžeq</i>	'to split'

When the stem has more than three consonants, or when it has three consonants and an internal plain vowel (*a, i, u*), *i* is not added either, e.g.

A <i>qeždeh</i>	P <i>qeždeh</i>	NP <i>qeždeh</i>	'to limp'
A <i>neyney</i>	P <i>neyney</i>	NP <i>neyney</i>	'to stutter'
A <i>ššuxřed</i>	P <i>ššuxřed</i>	NP <i>ššuxřed</i>	'to snore'

c. Verbs with vocalization of *r* in medial or final position that belong to the structures described under (a) and (b) have the same form in the positive and the negative Perfective in urban Nador varieties, which may have a partly phonetic background (see 2.3.7). In rural dialects, *i* is inserted and *r* reappears.

A <i>haay</i>	P <i>haay</i>	NP <i>haay - hriy</i>	'to grind'
A <i>faaq</i>	P <i>faaq</i>	NP <i>faaq - friq</i>	'to separate'
A <i>ašaa</i>	P <i>ušaa</i>	NP <i>ušaa - ušia</i>	'to steal'

### 4.3.4 The formation of the Imperfective

The formation of the Imperfective is by far the most irregular of the MAN derivations. There are three major derivational devices:

- Gemination of a stem consonant
- Prefixation of *t(t)*-
- Insertion of a plain vowel (*i, u, a*) before the last consonant of the root

Gemination and Prefixation only rarely cooccur; insertion of a plain vowel is common in combination with prefixation of *t(t)*-.

As the derivation of the

Imperfective depends to a large degree on the formal properties of the verb, this will be the guiding principle in the overview.

a. Verbs with three consonants and no plain vowel (*i, u, a*) have mostly gemination of the second consonant of the stem, e.g.

A <i>rmed</i>	I <i>r̥emmed</i>	'to learn'
A <i>qr̥eb</i>	I <i>qedžeb</i>	'to turn'
A <i>mseh</i>	I <i>messeh</i>	'to wipe'

In the formation of the Imperfective vocalized *r* is treated as a normal consonant, e.g.

A <i>qažem</i>	I <i>qažzem</i>	'to open'
A <i>yaq̥aq</i>	I <i>yarreq</i>	'to be stuck in water or sand'
A <i>šaaz</i>	I <i>šarrez</i>	'to plough'
A <i>mžaa</i>	I <i>mežzaa</i>	'to mow, to harvest'
A <i>myaqa</i>	I <i>meyyqa</i>	'to grow, to become old'

A few verbs have a different formation:

A <i>aqwař</i>	I <i>trakkʷař</i>	'to flee'
A <i>dweř</i>	I <i>ddakkʷař</i> (< <i>tdakkʷař</i> )	'to become'
A <i>fqaq</i>	I <i>tefriy</i>	'to be bended'
A <i>yaq̥as</i>	I <i>qqaq̥as</i> (~ <i>yarres</i> )	'to slaughter'

b. Verbs with two consonants which end in a vowel have gemination of the second consonant. Gemination procedures are as outlined in 2.3.8, e.g.

A <i>bda</i>	I <i>bedda</i>	'to begin'
A <i>hwa</i>	I <i>hekkʷa</i>	'to go down'
A <i>wda</i>	I <i>weṭṭa</i>	'to fall'
A <i>aazu</i>	I <i>aazzu</i>	'to search'

The following verb is irregular:

A <i>ksi</i> ~ <i>ysi</i> ~ <i>šsi</i>	I <i>kessi</i>	'to take, to carry'
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c. Verbs which have two consonants and an initial *a* in the Aorist prefix *t(t)-* in the Imperfective; if *a* is the result of the vocalization of *r*, this is not the case (see under a, above), e.g.

A <i>ašaa</i>	I <i>tašaa</i>	'to steal'
A <i>azzeř</i>	I <i>tazzeř</i>	'to run'

d. Verbs consisting of an initial geminate and one additional consonant or plain vowel (*i, u, a*) in the Aorist, prefix *t-* in the Imperfective, e.g.

A <i>ssen</i>	I <i>tessen</i>	'to know'
A <i>ffey</i>	I <i>teffey</i>	'to go out'
A <i>ttu</i>	I <i>tettu</i>	'to forget'

The verb *wweř* (P: *wři~a*) is also irregular in the Imperfective:

A <i>wweř</i>	I <i>ššat</i>	'to hit'
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e. Verbs ending in a geminate have the prefix *t-* and add *a* at the end of the stem. When the geminate is the only consonant of the stem, *t-* is prefixed; some of these verbs suffix *a*, others don't, e.g.

A <i>bedd</i>	I <i>tbedda</i>	'to stand'
A <i>hekк</i>	I <i>thekka</i>	'to rub'
A <i>zemm</i>	I <i>tzemma</i>	'to suck'
A <i>żż</i>	I <i>teżża</i>	'to let, to abandon'
A <i>arr</i>	I <i>tarra</i>	'to give back'
A <i>gg</i>	I <i>tegg</i>	'to do'
A <i>kk</i>	I <i>tekk</i>	'to pass'
A <i>gg<sup>w</sup></i>	I <i>teg<sup>w</sup></i>	'to knead, to bake bread'

Remark the following irregular verb:

A <i>śś</i>	I <i>tett</i>	'to eat'
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f. Verbs consisting of two consonants without a plain vowel (*i, u, a*) in the Aorist have a large number of different formations in the Imperfective:

Gemination of the second consonant:

A <i>ny</i>	I <i>neqq</i>	'to kill'
A <i>zaa</i>	I <i>żżar</i>	'to see'
A <i>qay</i>	I <i>qqaq</i>	'be lit'

Gemination of the second consonant and insertion of *a*:

A <i>deř</i>	I <i>ddar</i>	'to cover'
A <i>yez</i>	I <i>qqaz</i>	'to dig'
A <i>du</i> (* <i>dew</i> )	I <i>ttaw</i>	'to fly'
A <i>yąq</i>	I <i>qqqa<sup>22</sup></i>	'to read, to study'
A <i>ni</i> (* <i>ney</i> )	I <i>nnay</i>	'to mount'

Prefixation of *t-*, sometimes accompanied by addition of a vowel:

A <i>ns</i>	I <i>tnusa</i>	'to spend the night'
A <i>xs</i>	I <i>texs</i>	'to want'
A <i>seř</i>	I <i>tesřa</i>	'to hear'

Note the following irregular forms:

A <i>qaz</i>	I <i>tqazza</i>	'to break'
A <i>su</i> (< * <i>sew</i> )	I <i>sess</i>	'to drink'
A <i>yw</i>	I <i>tnenna</i>	'to be cooked, to be ripe'
A <i>wš</i>	I <i>tišš</i>	'to give'

g. Verbs with an internal plain vowel (*i, u, a*) prefix *t-*. In case the verb stem ends in a syllable CeC, the earlier plain vowel is copied into this final syllable. Note that the prefix *t-* is not added to verbs with the causative prefix *ss-* (see 4.2.2 and i. below). Examples:

<sup>22</sup> *qqqa* also functions as the suppletive Imperfective of *ini* 'to say'.

A <i>ffurrež</i>	I <i>tfurruž</i>	'to entertain'
A <i>ru</i>	I <i>tru</i>	'to weep'
A <i>iraa</i>	I <i>tiraa</i>	'to play'
A <i>ixdqaa</i>	I <i>tixdqaa</i>	'to choose'
A <i>iři</i>	I <i>tiři</i>	'to be'
A <i>usu</i>	I <i>tusu</i>	'to cough'
A <i>udum</i>	I <i>tudum</i>	'to drip'

Irregular are:

A <i>ini</i>	I <i>qqaq</i>	'to say'
A <i>uyua</i>	I <i>gguua</i>	'to walk'

h. Verbs without an internal plain vowel (*i, u, a*) that have more than three stem consonants, or three consonants one of which is geminated, take the prefix *t*. With some verbs a vowel is inserted between the last two consonants of the stem. In this group of verbs, initial geminates are degeminated after *t*-, e.g.

A <i>fedžeq</i>	I <i>tfedžeq</i>	'to split'
A <i>gewwed</i>	I <i>tgewwed</i>	'to lead'
A <i>kemmerž</i>	I <i>tkemmarž</i>	'to finish'
A <i>bbarršen</i>	I <i>tbarršin</i>	'to become black'
A <i>ššařšaa</i>	I <i>tšařšua</i>	'to cluck'

i. Verbs which have the causative prefix *ss-* or one of its variants (see 4.2.2) never prefix *t*- . In case the verb ends in a syllable CeC, often a plain vowel is inserted. This vowel is either *a*, or it is a copy of an earlier vowel in the stem, e.g.

A <i>ssefhem</i>	I <i>ssefham</i>	'to make understand'
A <i>ssesmed</i>	I <i>ssesmad</i>	'to make cold'
A <i>ssiad</i>	I <i>ssirid</i>	'to wash'
A <i>ssusef</i>	I <i>ssusuf</i>	'to spit'
A <i>ssufey</i>	I <i>ssufuy</i>	'to let out'

Causatives derived from verbs of the type *adef* 'to enter' (i.e., with two consonants and initial *a* in the Aorist) change the initial *a* to *i* in the Aorist causative. In the Imperfective of the causative, the *a* reappears and is copied in the final syllable, e.g.

A <i>ssidef</i>	I <i>ssadaf</i>	'to let in'
A <i>ssiherž</i>	I <i>ssaharž</i>	'to fatigue'

Something similar is found in the causative of the verb *žžawen* 'to be satiated':

A <i>ssyiwén</i>	I <i>ssyawan</i>	'to satiate'
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j. It is impossible to make an Imperfective of a verb with the passive prefix *ttwa-* (Cadi 2006: 172ff.).

#### 4.3.5 The derivation of the Negative Imperfective

The Negative Imperfective is derived in a very regular manner from the positive Imperfective: any *a* in the positive Imperfective is changed to *i*. When there is no *a* present, the two forms are homonymous. Examples:

A <i>bedd</i>	I <i>tbedda</i>	NI <i>tbeddi</i>	'to stand'
A <i>adef</i>	I <i>tadef</i>	NI <i>tidef</i>	'to come in'
A <i>dweř</i>	I <i>ddakkʷař</i>	NI <i>ddikkʷiř</i>	'to become'
A <i>ssidef</i>	I <i>ssadaf</i>	NI <i>ssidif</i>	'to let in'
A <i>deř</i>	I <i>ddar</i>	NI <i>ddiř</i>	'to cover'

Note that *a* is not changed to *i* when it results from the vocalisation of \*er, e.g.

A <i>mžaa</i>	I <i>mežžaa</i>	NI <i>mežžaa</i>	'to mow' (aa < *er)
A <i>qazem</i>	I <i>qazzem</i>	NI <i>qazzem</i>	'to open' (aa < *er)
A <i>yqaq</i>	I <i>yarreq</i>	NI <i>yarreq</i>	'to be stuck, to drown' (aa < *er)

#### 4.4 A special verb group: *ah*, *ruh*, *rah* 'to go'

The verb 'to go' has a number of special forms. One of the characteristics of these verbs is that the Imperative is different from the Aorist:

Imperative:	<i>ruh</i>
A	<i>rah</i> ~ <i>qah</i>
P	<i>ruh</i>
NP	<i>ruh</i>
I	<i>trah</i> ~ <i>tah</i>
IN	<i>trih</i> ~ <i>tih</i>

Related to this is the verb *qaggweh* 'to go home'.

## 5. Personal pronouns

There are several series of pronouns in Tarifiyt. The most important divide is between free pronouns and bound pronouns.

## 5.1 Free pronouns

The free pronouns are as follows:

Free Pronouns	
1SG	<i>nešš</i>
2SG:M	<i>šekk</i>
2SG:F	<i>šemm</i>
3SG:M	<i>netta</i>
3SG:F	<i>nettat</i>
1PL	<i>neššin</i>
2PL:M	<i>kenniw</i>
2PL:F	<i>kennint</i>
3PL:M	<i>niŋni ~ nihni</i>
3PL:F	<i>niŋenti ~ nihenti</i>

PL:M forms refer to groups that consist either exclusively of males or of males and females. PL:F forms refer to an exclusively female group.

Free pronouns are used in several syntactic contexts. In the first place, they appear in non-verbal sentences, e.g.

nešš *d* Mimun 'I am Mimoun'  
I / PRED / Mimoun

*d nešš* 'it's me'  
PRED / I

In the second place, they occur before or after the central part of the clause in topic or post-topic position, e.g.

nešš, yesseqsa-ayi Mimun  
1 / he.asked<sup>F</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / Mimoun

'as for me, Mimoun has asked me'

tezr-it, netta  
she.saw<sup>F</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / he

'she has seen him, him'

In these uses, free pronouns may refer to subjects, objects or to nouns with any other syntactic function. The free pronouns can also be used after a number of prepositions, e.g.

uđaqabi wanita d arifi am šekk  
probably / this.one / PRED / Riffian<sup>MSGFS</sup> / like / you<sup>MSG</sup>  
'this one is probably a Riffian like you'

## 5.2 Bound pronouns

Bound pronouns occur in several series. First Direct object and Indirect object clitics to the verb will be treated, then prepositional and post-nominal pronouns. In the part on verbal clitics the deictic element *d* 'hither' will also be included, because of its morpho-syntactic connection to the pronominal clitics.

### 5.2.1 Direct object pronouns

Direct object pronouns have slightly different shapes depending on their place before or after the verb, and, when post-verbal, on the shape of the verb they cliticize to (on the conditions of clitic placement, see 7.3). There are three sets, which will be called post-verbal I, post-verbal II, and pre-verbal. Post-verbal II pronouns differ from post-verbal I pronouns because they have an additional *i* before the pronoun. Pre-verbal pronouns differ from post-verbal I pronouns because they have an additional *d* before vowel-initial clitics.

Direct object bound pronouns			
	post-verbal I	post-verbal II	pre-verbal
1SG	ayi	ayi	dayi
2SG:M	š ~ šekk	iš ~ išekk	š
2SG:F	šem	išem	šem
3SG:M	t	it	t
3SG:F	t ~ tet	t	t(t)
1PL	aney ~ ay	aney ~ ay	daney ~ day
2PL:M	kenniw	ikenniw	kenniw
2PL:F	kennint	ikennint	kennint
3PL:M	ten (~ yen)	iten	ten
3PL:F	tent (~ yent)	itent	tent

The variants *-yen* and *-yent* of the third person plural are only used after the pseudo-verbs *aqqa* 'presentative', *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past' (see chapter 8), e.g.

*qa-ten diha* = *qa-yen diha*      'they are over there'  
 QA-them<sup>DO</sup> / there

Post-verbal II pronouns are used in two contexts:

a. When the verb form has no suffix and ends in a consonant, e.g.

*yessufy-it*      'he has let him out'

When the word ends in *aa* (i.e. it has an underlying /r/), the Post-Verbal II pronouns are also used, and the final *r* reappears, e.g.

*yemžaa*      'he has harvested'  
*yemžar-it*      'he has harvested it'

b. When the verb form has no suffix and ends in the changing vowel of the Perfective of two-consonantal verbs (see 4.1), e.g.

*yešš-it*      'he has eaten it' (cf. *yešša* 'he has eaten')

When the verb ends in another vowel, or in a person suffix, Post-verbal I pronouns are used, e.g.

*yessru-ten*      'he made them cry'  
*ssufyex-‡*      'I have let him out' (with the 1SG suffix *-ey*)

Pre-verbal pronouns are used when the clitics stand before the verb, e.g.

*wi dayi-yessufyen?*      'who has made me go out?'  
 who / me<sup>DO</sup>-letting.out<sup>P</sup>

### 5.2.2 Indirect object pronouns

Indirect object pronouns have two series of allomorphs, a post-verbal and a preverbal one. The only difference is the presence of *d* before the pronoun in the preverbal forms.

Indirect object bound pronouns		
	Post-verbal	Pre-verbal
1SG	<i>ayi</i>	<i>dayi</i>
2SG:M	<i>aš</i>	<i>daš</i>
2SG:F	<i>am</i>	<i>dam</i>
3SG (M/F)	<i>as</i>	<i>das</i>
1PL	<i>aney ~ ay</i>	<i>daney ~ day</i>
2PL:M	<i>awen</i>	<i>dawen</i>
2PL:F	<i>akent ~ ašent</i>	<i>dakent ~ dašent</i>
3PL:M	<i>asen</i>	<i>dasen</i>
3PL:F	<i>asent</i>	<i>dasent</i>

Examples:

wšiy-as pabu  
I.gave<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / turkey<sup>FS</sup>  
'I gave him a turkey'

wi das-yewšin pabu  
who / him<sup>IO</sup>-giving<sup>P</sup> / turkey<sup>FS</sup>  
'who gave him a turkey?'

Indirect object pronouns are the pronominal equivalent to phrases with the dative preposition *i*, e.g.

wšy pabu i Mimun  
I.gave<sup>P</sup> / turkey<sup>FS</sup> / to / Mimoun  
'I has given a turkey to Mimoun'

It is however, more common to use both the pronoun and the prepositional phrase, e.g.

wšiy-as pabu i Mimun  
I.gave<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / turkey<sup>FS</sup> / to / Mimoun  
'I have given (to him) the turkey to Mimoun'

### 5.2.3 The deictic clitic *d* 'hither'

Tarifyt has one deictic clitic which is cliticized to the verb, *d* 'hither'. It signals that the action described in the sentence is directed towards the locus of the speech act, i.e. towards the place where the speaker is at the moment (s)he pronounces his or her sentence. Thus, when telling that somebody has returned to Nador, it makes a difference whether the speaker is in Nador or not:

yedwer-d yaa Nnađuq  
he.returned<sup>P</sup>-hither / to / Nador  
'he has come back to Nador' (speaker is in Nador)

yedwer yaa Nnađuq  
he.returned<sup>P</sup> / to / Nador  
'he has gone back to Nador' (speaker is not in Nador)

With verbs that do not express motion, the element *d* refers to actions which imply a later movement towards the speaker, or which are metaphorically directed towards the speaker (e.g. because the speaker benefits strongly from the described action), e.g. in the following sentence from a story the use of *d* conveys that the things bought in the market will eventually be brought to the place where the speaker is:

min d-yesya zzi ssuq?  
what / hither-he.bought<sup>P</sup> / from / market  
'what did he buy (hither) from the market?'

In traditional stories, like fairy tales, the speaker is often not directly involved in the story – they are about fictional events which are supposed to have happened long ago at an undetermined place. In such a context, skilled storytellers use *d* in order to add a kind of camera perspective to the story: the

storyteller locates him or herself in the fictional space and tells the story as if (s)he is there, e.g.

*tessqaqeb-d iżżeñ temyaat*  
 she.knocked<sup>P</sup>-hither / one / woman<sup>AS</sup>  
 'a woman knocked (hither) on the door'

In this example, the story teller locates herself inside the house (with the protagonist), and the knocking is therefore presented as happening towards her.

The element *d* has an allomorph *id* after the 3SG:M Direct object pronoun, and also after 2PL:F and 3PL:F Direct object pronouns, e.g.

*yessiwd-it-id* 'he has brought him (here)'  
 he.made.arrive<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither

*yessiwd-išent-id* 'he has brought you (F:PL) (here)'  
 he.made.arrive<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>F:PL:DO</sup>-hither

*yessiwd-itent-id* 'he has brought them (F:PL) (here)'  
 he.made.arrive<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>F:PL:DO</sup>-hither

If *d* is used after a Perfective belonging to the class which has no stem-final vowel in the imperative, but *i* or *a* in the Perfective (see 4.1), the final vowel *a* is absent; instead, schwa is found, e.g.

*yus-ed* 'he has come' (cf. *umi d-yusa* 'when he came')  
 he came<sup>P</sup>-hither

#### 5.2.4 Combinations of verbal clitics

The verbal clitics can be combined. Both post-verbally and pre-verbally, the following order is respected:

Indirect Object – Direct Object – *d*

*yiwyaš-t-id*  
 he.brought<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither  
 'he has brought him (*t*) here (*id*) to you (*aš*)'

*waa daš-t-id-yiwiy*  
 not / you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither-he.brought<sup>NP</sup>  
 'he has not brought him (*t*) here (*id*) to you (*aš*)'

#### 5.2.5 Bound pronouns used with prepositions

Prepositions can take pronouns, which are suffixed to them. The following table gives the basic pronominal set plus examples with three prepositions; remark the irregular form *inu* 'my'.

Bound pronouns used with prepositions				
		ak(ed) 'with'	ya 'at'	<i>n</i> 'of'
1SG	<i>i</i>	<i>kidi</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>inu</i>
2SG:M	<i>š ~ k</i>	<i>kideš ~ kiš</i>	<i>yaak</i>	<i>nneš</i>
2SG:F	<i>m</i>	<i>kidem ~ kim</i>	<i>yaam</i>	<i>nnem</i>
3SG (M/F)	<i>s</i>	<i>kides ~ kis</i>	<i>yaas</i>	<i>nnes</i>
1PL	<i>ney</i>	<i>kidney ~ kiney</i>	<i>yaaney</i>	<i>nney</i>
2PL:M	<i>wem</i>	<i>kidwem ~ kiwem</i>	<i>yaawem</i>	<i>nwem</i>
2PL:F	<i>kent ~ šent</i>	<i>kikent ~ kišent</i>	<i>yaakent ~ yaašent</i>	<i>nkent ~ nšent</i>
3PL:M	<i>sen</i>	<i>kidsen ~ kisen</i>	<i>yaasen</i>	<i>nsen</i>
3PL:F	<i>sent</i>	<i>kidſent ~ kiſent</i>	<i>yaasent</i>	<i>nsent</i>

Prepositions undergo changes in their shape when followed by a pronominal suffix, see 9.1.

### 5.2.6 Pronominal suffixes with kinship terms

A restricted set of kinship terms, belonging to Class III of nominal morphology (see 3.4), express possession by means of suffix pronominal elements. All other nouns can only form a genitival construction by means of the preposition *n*. The pronouns after kinship terms are identical to those used with prepositions, except for the presence of an element *č* before plural pronouns.

Kinship terms bound pronouns	
	'son'
1SG	- <i>mmi</i>
2SG:M	<i>š</i> <i>mmi-š</i>
2SG:F	<i>m</i> <i>mmi-m</i>
3SG:M	<i>s</i> <i>mmi-s</i>
1PL	<i>čney</i> <i>mmi-čney</i>
2PL:M	<i>čwem</i> <i>mmi-čwem</i>
2PL:F	<i>čkent ~ čšent</i> <i>mmi-čkent ~ mmi-čšent</i>
3PL:M	<i>čsen</i> <i>mmi-čsen</i>
3PL:F	<i>čsent</i> <i>mmi-čsent</i>

### 5.3 Emphasizers

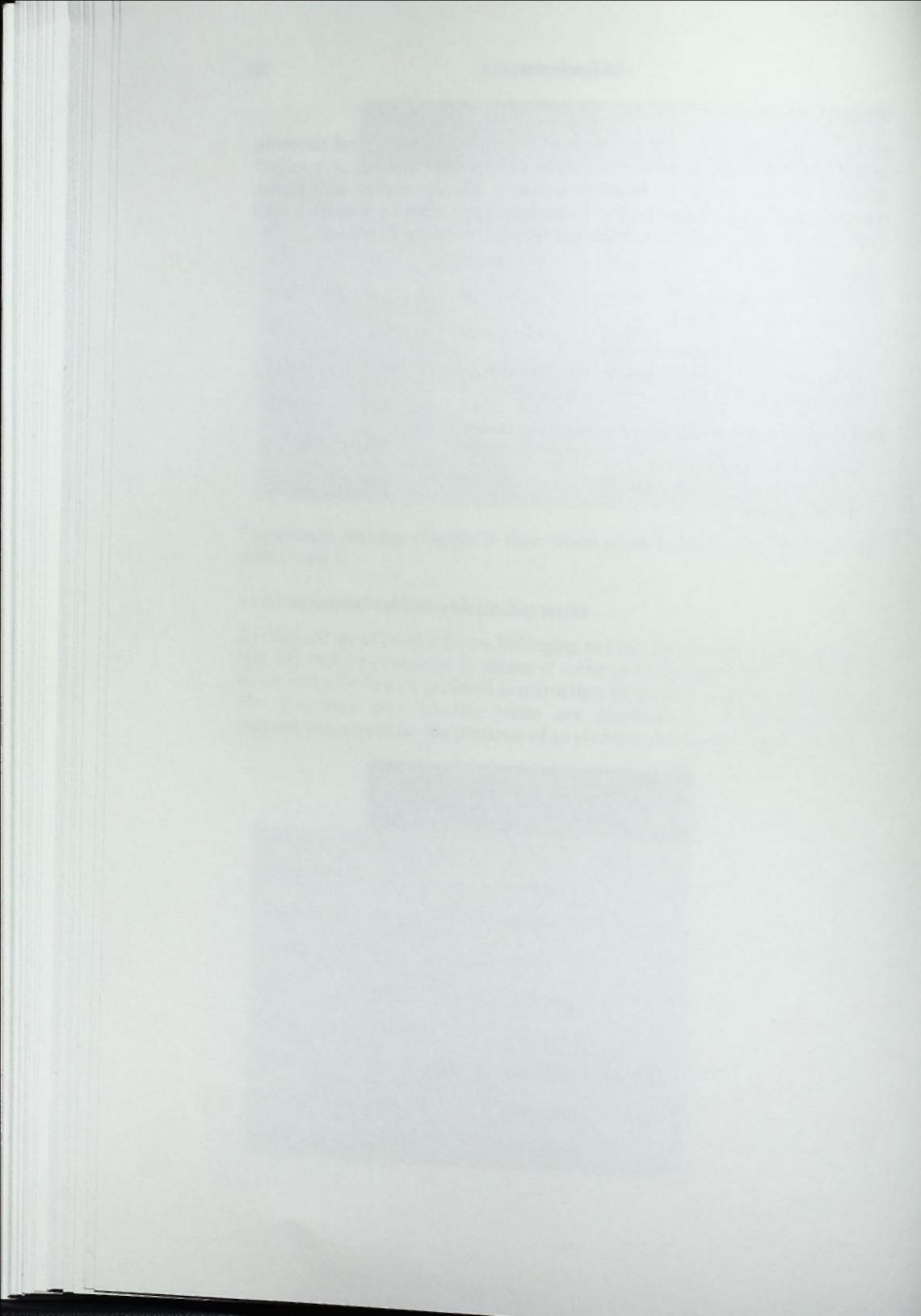
There are two elements that can be used to emphasize pronominal elements. In the first place, the element *nnit* can be used to put emphasis on a subject marking on the verb or a bound pronoun; it can also appear with nouns, especially such that indicate time. In English it can often be translated with '(him)self, on (his) own', but it never has reflexive meaning. Examples:

*a t-awyey nnič*  
AD / her<sup>PO</sup>-i.bring<sup>A</sup> / by.self  
'I will marry her myself'

*insi tuya ixemmeř ḫadunt-enni nnič*  
hedgehog<sup>TS</sup> / PAST / he.hid<sup>P</sup> / grease<sup>TS</sup>-that / by.self  
'Hedgehog had hidden the grease himself'

Free pronouns and nouns are emphasized by *simant n-*, e.g.

*usiy-d nešš simant inu*  
I.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / I / by.self / my  
'I came myself'



## 6. Deixis and demonstrative pronouns

### 6.1 Deictic elements after nouns

Tarifiyt Berber has three deictic elements, which are cliticized after a noun and after certain pronominal elements:

Post-nominal deictic clitics	
-a	'here' (near the speaker)
-in	'there' (not near the speaker, either near the hearer or far away)
-enni	'what we were talking about' (referring to something already mentioned in the context)

When the noun ends in a vowel, *y* is inserted before -a and -in, while -enni becomes -nni. When -a, -in or -enni follow a noun ending in schwa followed by a simple consonant, the final consonant is geminated by some speakers in order to preserve schwa. When -enni follows a noun in -en, this merges with -enni into -en-ni. When -a or -in follows a noun ending in a vocalized *r* (i.e., *aa*), the *r* reappears; this is not the case with -enni, e.g.

Examples of nouns with deictic clitics					
no clitic	aayaz	stilu	iřes	ifassen	awessaa
'here'	aayaz-a	stilu-ya	iřess-a	ifassenn-a	awessar-a
'there'	aayaz-in	stilu-yin	iřess-in	ifassenn-in	awessar-in
'afore-mentioned'	aayaz-enni	stilu-nni	iřess-enni	ifassen-ni	awessaa-nni
	'man'	'pen'	'tongue'	'hands'	'old man'

### 6.2 Pronouns with deictic elements

The deictic elements can also be combined with a series of pronominal elements, which only occur in combination with the deictic elements. This combination of pronoun and deictic functions only as an independent demonstrative pronoun ('this one is blue'), and is not used in apposition ('this man').

In the singular of the proximal deixis ('here'), there are additional emphatic forms with *-anita(t)(i)*. The following table presents the pronominal elements in combination with the deictics:

		'here'	'here/emphatic'	'there'	'afore-mentioned'
DEFINITE:SG:M	<i>w-a</i>	<i>w-a-nita</i> <i>w-a-niti</i> <i>w-a-nitat</i> <i>w-a-nitati</i>		<i>w-in</i>	<i>w-enni</i>
DEFINITE:SG:F	<i>t-a</i>	<i>t-a-nita</i> <i>t-a-niti</i> <i>t-a-nitat</i> <i>t-a-nitati</i>		<i>t-in</i>	<i>t-enni</i>
DEFINITE:PL:M	<i>in-a</i>	-		<i>in-in</i>	<i>in-ni</i>
DEFINITE:PL:F	<i>tin-a</i>	-		<i>tin-in</i>	<i>tin-ni</i>
INDEFINITE	<i>ay-a</i>	-		-	<i>ay-enni</i>

A composite form including *ay-* is *man-ay-a* 'this thing', *man-ay-in* 'that thing', *man-ay-enni* 'that afore-mentioned thing'.

A second set of pronominal elements consists of the definite pronominal form followed by *inat* and, in the plural, a plural suffix. They may or may not be followed by a deictic. These pronouns give very vague reference, similar to French 'ce truc-ci' or English 'thingummy'.

	neutral	'here'	'there'	'afore-mentioned'
VAGUE:SG:M	<i>winał</i>	<i>winał-a</i>	<i>winał-in</i>	<i>winał-enni</i>
VAGUE:SG:F	<i>tinat</i>	<i>tinat-a</i>	<i>tinat-in</i>	<i>tinat-enni</i>
VAGUE:PL:M	<i>inaten</i>	<i>inaten-a</i>	<i>inaten-in</i>	<i>inaten-ni</i>
VAGUE:PL:F	<i>tinatın</i>	<i>tinatın-a</i>	<i>tinatın-in</i>	<i>tinatın-ni</i>

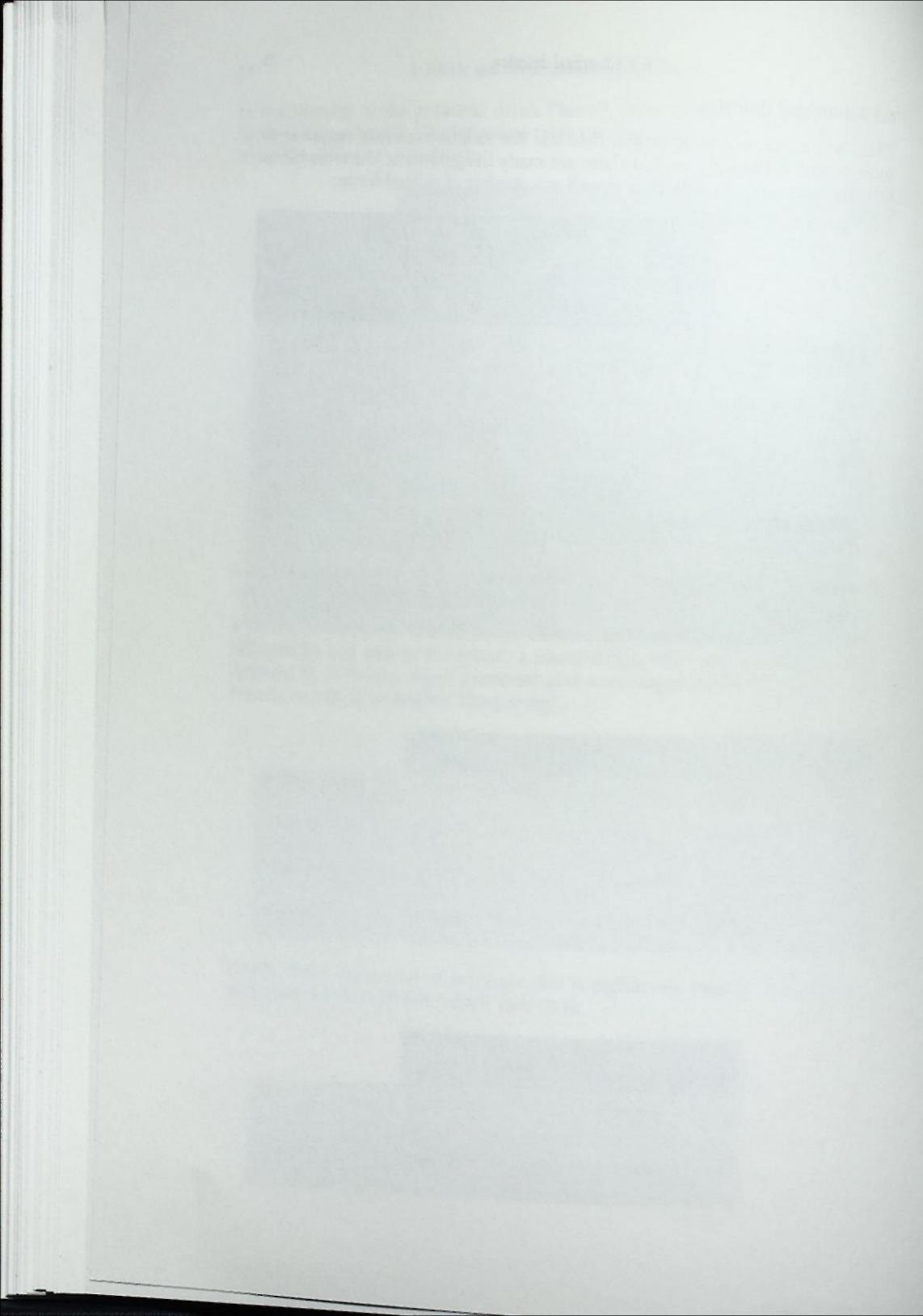
Finally, there exists a set of pronouns that is exclusively used in combination with after the element *man* 'which' (see 12.3):

	Masculine	Feminine
Singular	<i>man wen</i>	<i>man ten</i>
Plural	<i>man yin</i>	<i>man tin</i>

### 6.3 Adverbial deictics

There are a number of adverbial deictics. The deictic elements reappear to some extent in these forms, but there are many irregularities. The table below lists the most important deictics as well as a number of related forms:

	'here'	'here / emph.'	'there'	'over-there (far away)'	'afore-mentioned'
LOCATION: 'here/there'	<i>da</i>	<i>danita</i> <i>danitat</i> <i>danitati</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>diha</i>	<i>dinni</i>
PATH: 'along here'	<i>ssa</i>	<i>ssanita</i> <i>ssanitat</i> <i>ssanitati</i>	<i>ssiha</i>	<i>ssiha</i>	<i>senni</i>
SIMILARITY: 'like this'	<i>ammu</i>	-	-	-	<i>amenni</i>
TIME: 'now, then'	<i>řexxu</i> <i>řextu</i>	-	-	-	<i>řexdenni</i>



## 7. The verbal complex

The verbal complex consists of the verb plus its pronominal and deictic clitics, as well as a number of preverbal particles. Verbs can be accompanied by a number of clitics, which have different behavior in different syntactic contexts. Clitics come in two types: those that are always preverbal, and those that are preverbal in certain positions and postverbal in others.

### 7.1 Preverbal clitics

There are a number of preverbal clitics, which add modal and polarity information to the verb.

#### 7.1.1 Modal preverbal clitics

There are two modal preverbal clitics. The first one is *ad* (allomorph *ya*), which marks the event described in the verb as not yet realized. In many cases this can be interpreted as a simple future, but in other cases it implies doubt, uncertainty or a wish, e.g.

<i>ad yaaggwəh</i>	'he will go home, he might go home, he should go home'
--------------------	--

The final *d* of *ad* assimilates to following *t* and *n*. The assimilation is not entirely regular, as the result is *t* and *n* rather than geminated *tt* and *nn*, respectively, e.g.

<i>ad teggenfa</i> > <i>a teggenfa</i>	'she will recover'
<i>ad neggenfa</i> > <i>a neggenfa</i>	'we will recover'

When standing before (fronted) clitics (see 7.3), *ad* becomes *a*, e.g.

<i>a t-yesgenfa</i> AD / him <sup>PO</sup> -he.heals <sup>A</sup>	'he will heal him'
<i>a ſ-yesgenfa</i> AD / you <sup>MSGDO</sup> -he.heals <sup>A</sup>	'he will heal you'

The allomorph *ya* is used in relative clauses and similar constructions (clefts, content questions), as well as after a number of subordinating conjunctions (see 17.2). The syntactic contexts of the use of *ya* are the same as those where the postverbal clitics are fronted, e.g.

<i>min ya negg</i> what / AD / we.do <sup>A</sup>	'what shall we do?'
<i>umi ya yemmet...</i> when / AD / he.dies <sup>A</sup>	'when he had died...'

The second preverbal modal clitic is *xad*. It is similar in its meaning to *ad*, but adds more certainty, or greater insistence. It is not allowed in subordinated clauses and does not combine with question words. The final *d* undergoes the same assimilations as in *ad*, e.g.

*xa tqu* 'she will (certainly) fly away'

### 7.1.2 Negative preverbal clitics

The other type of preverbal clitics are the negative preverbal particles. Most frequent is *waa*, which is used in all negations, e.g.

*waa tqeqim ša* 'she did not stay'  
not / she.stayed<sup>NP</sup> / not

*waa t-zriy ša* 'I did not see her'  
not / her<sup>DO</sup>-I.saw<sup>P</sup> / not

The second negative preverbal clitic, *wiř* or *wi*, is optionally used in prohibitives, e.g.

*wiř ggua ša* ~ *wi ggua ša* ~ *waa ggua ša* 'don't go!'  
not! / walk! / not

### 7.1.3 Combination of preverbal clitics

Normally, *ad*, *xad* and *waa* are not combined. The negation of a phrase with *ad* or *xad* is made by means of *waa* followed by a Negative Imperfective, and the modal particle does not occur in this expression, e.g.

*waa gguan ša*  
not / they<sup>M</sup>.walk<sup>P</sup> / not  
'they will not walk' (not: \*\**waa ad uyuan ša*; \*\**waa ya uyuan ša*)

## 7.2 Moveable clitics

The following clitics are postverbal in neutral contexts, but are put before the verb in a number of specific syntactic contexts:

- Pronominal clitics of the Indirect object
- Pronominal clitics of the Direct object
- The deictic *d* 'hither'
- Prepositions with a pronominal suffix
- The deictic adverbs *da* 'here', *din* 'there', *dinni* 'there', *ssa* 'this way', *ssenni* 'that way'

The relative order is Indirect Object – Direct Object – *d* – Preposition, e.g.

*yiwy-am-t-id zzayes*  
he.brought<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>FSG30</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither / with.it  
'he brought him (t) hither (d) to you (am) with it (zzayes) (e.g. with the car)'

### 7.3 Clitic fronting

Clitic fronting is the process by which postverbal moveable clitics are put before the verb. Where applicable, clitic fronting is obligatory for Indirect object pronouns, Direct object pronouns and with the element *d*. Prepositions with a pronominal suffix may or may not undergo clitic fronting, depending on the amount of emphasis put on them: the more emphasis, the lesser the chance of a fronted position. The same obtains with the deictic adverbs, e.g.

*a t zzayes yawi*  
 AD / him<sup>PO</sup> / with.it / he.brings<sup>A</sup>  
 'he will bring him with it'

*a t-yawi zzayes*  
 AD / him<sup>PO</sup>-he.brings<sup>A</sup> / with.it  
 'he will bring him with it'

*a ssenni nekk ?*  
 AD / that.way / we.pass<sup>A</sup>  
 'shall we pass by there?'

*a nekk ssenni ?*  
 AD / we.pass<sup>A</sup> / that.way  
 'shall we pass by there?'

When fronted, the same order of elements is found as in postverbal position, e.g.

*a dam-t-id zzayes yawi*  
 AD / you<sup>FSG:IO</sup>-him<sup>PO</sup>-hither / with.it / he.brings<sup>A</sup>  
 'he will bring him (t) hither (d) to you (am) with it (zzayes)'

Clitic fronting is fully predictable otherwise. It occurs in the following syntactic contexts:

a. After the preverbal particles *a(d)*, *xa(d)* and *waa*, e.g.

*a šem-awyey*  
 AD / you<sup>FSG:DO</sup>-I.take<sup>A</sup>  
 'I will marry you'

*waa šem-tiwhey ša*  
 not / you<sup>FSG:DO</sup>-I.take<sup>NI</sup> / not  
 'I will not marry you'

b. In relative clauses with or without the relative marker *i*, e.g.

*aayaz d-yusin*  
 man<sup>TS</sup> / hither-coming<sup>P</sup>  
 'the man that has come here'

*aayaz i d-iwyey*  
 man<sup>TS</sup> / that / hither-I.brought<sup>P</sup>  
 'the man that I have brought here'

c. In cleft sentences (a subclass of relative clauses, see 15.3), e.g.

*d baba i d-yiwdən*  
PRED / my.father / that / hither-arriving<sup>P</sup>  
'it is my father who has arrived here'

d. In question word questions (a subclass of cleft sentences, see 15.4), e.g.

*wi d-yusin?*  
who / hither-coming<sup>P</sup>  
'who has come here?'

e. After a number of conjunctions: *xemmi* 'the moment that', *umi* 'when', *qber* 'before', *ař* 'until', *meelik* 'if', *mři* 'if':

*umi d-yusa*  
when / hither-he.came<sup>P</sup>  
'when he came here'

*ař d-tased*  
until / hither-you.come<sup>A</sup>  
'until you come (here)'

*meelik d-yusa*  
if / hither-he came<sup>P</sup>  
'if he would have come'

*qber d ya yas*  
before / hither / AD / he.comes<sup>A</sup>  
'before he will come'

Conditions b-e are the same as those in which the particle *ad* has the allomorph *ya*, e.g.

*arrud-enni ya niqđ*  
clothes<sup>FS</sup>-that / AD / we.wear<sup>A</sup>  
'the clothes that we are going to wear'

*mameš ya negg?*  
how / AD / we.do<sup>A</sup>  
'what are we going to do?'

*ya* always stands immediately before the verb; other clitics, if present, come before *ya*, e.g.

*wenni d ya yasen*  
the.one<sup>M</sup> / hither / AD / coming<sup>A</sup>  
'the one that will come here'

*nešš i t ya yawyen*  
I / that / him<sup>DO</sup> / AD / carrying.to<sup>A</sup>  
'it is I who is going to marry him'

*mayemmi t ya tenyed?*  
why / her<sup>DO</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.kill<sup>A</sup>  
'why are you going to kill her?'

*xemmi d ya tas yemma-tney*  
when / hither / AD / she.comes<sup>A</sup> / mother-our  
'when our mother will come'

When the negative preverbal particle *waa* occurs with fronted moveable clitics, it precedes the other clitics, also in relative clauses, question word questions and clefts, e.g.

*mayemmi waa d-tusid?*  
why / not / hither-you<sup>SG</sup>.came<sup>P</sup>  
'why haven't you come?'

*d nešš i waa t-yezrin*  
PRED / I / that / not / him<sup>DO</sup>-seeing<sup>NP</sup>  
'it is me who didn't see him'

the first time, the author has been able to study the effect of the different factors on the growth of the plant.

It is the author's opinion that the results of this investigation will be of interest to all who are interested in the growth of the plant.

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## 8. Pseudo-verbs

In addition to normal verbs, there are a couple of elements that on the one hand lack some basic verbal properties (e.g. aspectual morphology), but on the other hand allow for the adjunction of pronominal clitics and the deictic *d*, otherwise only possible with verbs. Because of their ambiguous nature they are called here pseudo-verbs. They are not unlike French constructions such as *le-voici* 'here he is', where one has a particle *voici* 'here', which gets a Direct object pronominal clitic *le* 'he'. The most important pseudo-verbs are presented below.

### 8.1 *qa* 'present relevance'

On the meaning of this element, see 13.4.1. When used in a non-verbal sentence, this particle regularly takes Direct object pronouns which encode the subject of the non-verbal sentence, e.g.

*qa-<sup>f</sup> diha* 'he is over there'  
QA-him<sup>DO</sup> / over.there

The particle *qa* cannot be negated, nor does it appear in subordinated contexts.

### 8.2 *tuya* 'past'

On the meaning and further uses of this element, see 13.4.2. When used in a non-verbal sentence, the element *tuya* regularly takes Direct object pronouns which encode the subject, e.g.

*tuya-<sup>š</sup> d ameddukeř inu*  
PAST-you<sup>MSGDO</sup> / PRED / friend<sup>FS</sup> / my  
'you used to be my friend'

When *tuya* + Direct object appears in a context where pronominal clitics are fronted (see 7.3), the clitics appear before the particle, e.g.

*mani š-tuya?* 'where have you been?'  
where / you<sup>MSGDO-PAST</sup>

In negation, *tuya* has the form *tuyi*, e.g.

*waa š-tuyi ša d ameddukeř inu*  
not / you<sup>MSGDO-PAST-NEGATIVE</sup> / not / PRED / friend<sup>FS</sup> / my  
'you were not my friend'

### 8.3 *aqqa* 'presentative'

The presentative *aqqa* is followed by a noun or by a Direct object and/or an Indirect object clitic; when followed by a Direct object clitic it has the form *aqq*, e.g.

<i>aqqa txadent</i> here.is / ring	'here is the ring'
<i>aqq-et</i> here.is-it <sup>F:DO</sup>	'here it is'
<i>yumayen aqq-et da ttett</i> two.days / here.is-her <sup>DO</sup> / here / she.eats <sup>!</sup>	'since two days she is here and eats'
<i>aqq-awem txadent</i> here.is-you <sup>MPL:DO</sup> / ring	'here is a ring for you'
<i>aqq-awem-t</i> here.is-you <sup>MPL:DO</sup> -it <sup>F:DO</sup>	'here it is for you'

When not followed by a noun or a pronoun, it is a marker of attention, something like English 'lo!', e.g.

*aqqa ūexxu tfaq-ed*  
here.is / now / she.woke.up<sup>P</sup>-hither  
'!o! now she has woken up'

It is part of the set greeting phrase *agg-eš mlīh* 'are you well?'

*Aqqa* is often preceded by an other presentative, *ha*, e.g.

nešš, ha aqq-ayi 'as for me, look, here I am!  
I / look! / here is-me<sup>PO</sup>

#### 8.4 *tyiř* 'it seems'

When used as a pseudo-verb, *tyiř* is always followed by an Indirect object suffix. The construction is best translated as 'he thinks', e.g.

*tyiř-asen temmut*  
seem-them<sup>MIO</sup> / she.died<sup>P</sup>  
'they thought she had died (lit. it seemed to them she had died)'

*tyiř-ayi d ssehh*  
seem-me<sup>MIO</sup> / PRED / truth  
'I thought it was true (lit. it seemed to me it was the truth)'

The pronominal elements are put before *tyiř* in contexts where clitics are fronted, e.g.

waa *dayi-tyiř bu d ssəh̥h*  
not / me<sup>10</sup>-seem / not / PRED / truth  
'I didn't think it was true'

There is an alternative construction in which *tyiř* is a defective verb with only one aspectual stem, but conjugated according to the normal conjugation, e.g.

*tyiřey d šsəhh*  
I.think / PRED / truth  
'I thought it was true'

*tyiřen aženna yewđa-d*  
they<sup>M</sup>.think / sky<sup>TS</sup> / he.fell<sup>P</sup>-hither  
'they thought the sky had fallen down'

### 8.5 ay 'here you are'

The element *ay* is used when presenting something to somebody. It is always followed by an Indirect object pronoun indicating the recipient; in addition there may be a Direct object pronoun indicating the object that is presented, e.g.

<i>ay-am</i>	'here you are!'
<i>take!-you<sup>F:SG:IO</sup></i>	
<i>ay-am</i>	'here you have it!'
<i>take!-you<sup>F:SG:IO</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup></i>	

## 9. Prepositions

There are several types of prepositions in Tarifiyt. In the first place there is a restricted set of basic prepositions. Basic prepositions can be linked immediately to a noun or a pronominal suffix. In the second place there are prepositional complexes, which consist of a preposition-like element linked to the noun by means of another, basic, preposition.

### 9.1 Basic prepositions

Basic prepositions have different allomorphs according to whether they are used before a noun, before a pronoun or alone (as in certain types of relative clauses and in content questions, see 15.2.4). When used before a noun, some prepositions have different allomorphs depending on the initial element of the noun. The allomorphs are listed in the following table. Almost all basic prepositions are followed by nouns in the Annexed State. In the table those prepositions that are followed by the Free State are indicated by (+FS).

	before noun	before pronoun	standing alone
'in'	<i>di</i>	<i>day-</i>	<i>di</i>
'on'	<i>x</i>	<i>xaf- ~ xa-</i> <sup>*</sup>	<i>xef ~ x</i>
'towards, at'	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>yaa</i>
'from'	<i>zi</i>	<i>zzay-</i>	<i>zi</i>
'with' (instrumental)	<i>s</i>	<i>zzay-</i>	<i>zi</i>
'with' (comitative.)	<i>ak(ed)</i>	<i>kid ~ akid ~ ki**</i>	<i>ked</i>
'between'	<i>žaa</i>	<i>žara-</i>	-
'under'	<i>adu, sadu</i>	<i>adu nn-, sadu nn-</i>	-
'to' (dative)	<i>i</i>	Indirect object <u>or</u> <i>i + free pronoun</i>	<i>umi</i>
'of'	<i>n</i>	<i>nn- ***</i>	-
'until'	<i>ař (+ FS)</i>	-	-

'without'	<i>břa</i> (+FS)	<i>břa</i> + free pronoun	-
'like'	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i> + free pronoun	-
'like'	<i>amešnaw</i> (+FS)	<i>amešnaw</i> + free pronoun	-
'and'	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i> + free pronoun	-

\* With 1SG only *xaf-i*, otherwise free variation (*xaf-es* ~ *xa-s* 'on him')

\*\* 1SG: only *kid-i* or *akid-i*, otherwise free variation

\*\*\* 1SG: *inu*

The prepositions *di* and *zi* have amalgamated special forms when followed by *w* or *u* and *y* and *i*:

*di* + *w/u* > *degg<sup>w</sup>* ~ *gg<sup>w</sup>*  
*di* + *y/i* > *degg* ~ *gg*

*zi* + *w/u* > *zegg<sup>w</sup>*  
*zi* + *y/i* > *zegg*

Examples:

*di ssuq*  
in / market

'in the market' (before noun)

*degg<sup>w</sup> draa* ~ *gg<sup>w</sup> draa*  
in / mountain<sup>AS</sup>

'on the mountain' (before *w*-initial noun)

(< \**di wedraa*)

*degg iri* ~ *gg iri*  
in / neck<sup>AS</sup>

'on the neck' (before *y*-initial noun)  
(< \**di yiri*)

*dayi, dayes*

'in me', 'in him/her' (before pronouns)

*axxam i di yetyima*  
room<sup>FS</sup> / that / in / he.sits<sup>!</sup>

'the room in which he sits' (standing alone)

*min di ya tadfed?*  
what / in / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.enter<sup>A</sup>  
'into what will you enter' (standing alone)

The last two examples illustrate contexts in which the preposition stands alone, first with a relative clause (*i di yetadef* 'that he will enter into'), the second with the question word *min* 'what'.

### 9.1.1 *di* 'in'

The basic locative preposition is *di* 'in'. In addition to its locative meaning, it is also used for time expressions ('on that day'). It can also be used to express a movement into something. It also occurs in a number of expressions of human characteristics, e.g.

*qa-t di tadaat*  
QA-him<sup>PO</sup> / in / house

'he is in the house'

<i>di nnh&amp;q-nni</i>	'on that very day'
in / day / that	
<i>a ngeeced di tsežžaat</i>	'let us climb into the tree'
AD / we.climb <sup>A</sup> / in / tree <sup>AS</sup>	
<i>dayes tiyit</i>	'he is clever'
in.him / cleverness	

### 9.1.2 *x* 'on'

The preposition *x* is used to denote location on top of something. It can express the location, a movement toward this location, or a movement from this location. The preposition *x* is also often used when an action is described where the object of the action is involved, but has no power of manipulating it or its results, e.g.

*yedweř x uyis nnes*  
he.came.back<sup>P</sup> / on / horse<sup>AS</sup> / his  
'he came back on his horse'

*yewda x weyyuř*  
he.fell<sup>P</sup> / on / donkey<sup>AS</sup>  
'he fell from the donkey'

*yekk-ed x yizž ugezzaa*  
he.passed<sup>P</sup>-hither / on / one<sup>AS</sup> / butcher<sup>AS</sup>  
'he passed by a butcher' (no influence of the butcher)

*yessawař xafi*  
he.talks<sup>J</sup> / on.me  
'he is talking about me' (no influence by me on what he tells)

### 9.1.3 *zi* 'from'

The preposition *zi* expresses movement from a certain point.

*yessižž-ed zi tbuqžet*  
he.peeped<sup>P</sup>-hither / from / window  
'he peeped from the window'

*yus-ed zeggʷ zayyu*  
he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / from / Zaio<sup>AS</sup>  
'he came from Zaio.'

### 9.1.4 *yaa* 'towards, at'

The preposition *yaa* expresses location or direction towards a certain point. In its locational reading it can be translated as French 'chez'.

*tessek yaas mmi-s-enni*  
she.sent<sup>P</sup> / at.him / son-her-that  
'she send to him this son of hers'

*xeddmən yaa ḫamṣa*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.work<sup>l</sup> / at / ogress  
 'they work at an ogress' house'

With a temporal phrase, *yaa* expresses 'at a certain time'; it is mainly used for expressions concerning less than a day's time, e.g.

*yaa wezyen n nnhqa*  
 at / half<sup>AS</sup> / of / day  
 'at noon, lit. at the middle of the day'

*yaa tmeddit*  
 at / afternoon<sup>AS</sup>  
 'in the afternoon'

The preposition *yaa* is also used for possession. In this case, the possessor (if expressed by a noun or a full pronoun) is put in topic position and taken up by *yaa* followed by a pronoun, e.g.

*nettat yaas iżż uma-s*  
 she / at.her / one / brother-her  
 'she has a brother'

*iżżeñ temyaat yaas aabib*  
 one / woman<sup>AS</sup> / at.her / stepson<sup>FS</sup>  
 'a woman had a stepson (lit. a woman, with her [was] a stepson)'

#### 9.1.5 *s* 'with (instrumental)'

The basic instrumental preposition is *s* 'with', e.g.

*iqess aysum-enni s txeđmeš*  
 he.cut<sup>P</sup> / meat<sup>FS</sup>-that / with / knife<sup>AS</sup>  
 'he cut that meat with a knife'

*ieemmaq tħanšett-enni s yiżdi*  
 he.filled<sup>P</sup> / bag-that / with / sand<sup>AS</sup>  
 'he filled that bag with sand'

*s rħjria*  
 with / silk  
 '(made) from silk'

*s tmazixt*  
 with / Berber<sup>AS</sup>  
 'in Berber'

The preposition *s* is also used in a few temporal expressions, as well as in a numeral construction, e.g.

*s džiřet, s nnhqa*  
 with / night / with / day  
 'at night', 'at day'

*udfen s sebea*

they<sup>M</sup>.entered<sup>P</sup> / with / seven  
'the seven of them entered'

### 9.1.6 *aked ~ ak* 'with (comitative)'

The preposition *ak(ed)* expresses that something/somebody is combined with something/somebody else, e.g.

*yeggua akides*  
he.walks<sup>I</sup> / with.him

'he walks together with him'

*yetmenya aked uma-s*  
he.fights<sup>I</sup> / with / brother-his

'he always fights with his brother'

### 9.1.7 *žaa* 'between'

The preposition *žaa* expresses a location between two things or persons. It is also regularly used in reciprocal verbs, esp. those with the *m-* derivational prefix, e.g.

*tmenyant žarasent*  
they<sup>I</sup>.fight<sup>I</sup> / between.them<sup>F:PL</sup>  
'they fight all the time (among themselves)'

*žar iduraa*  
between / mountains<sup>AS</sup>  
'between the mountains'

### 9.1.8 *i* 'to' (dative)

The dative preposition is mainly used before nouns. When pronominalized, it is normally substituted by the Indirect object pronoun. An alternative, more emphatic, expression has *i* followed by a free pronoun.

*yewš-it i weyyurň nnes*  
he.gave<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / to / donkey<sup>AS</sup> / his  
'he gave it to his donkey'

*yewš-as-t i weyyurň nnes*  
he.gave<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / to / donkey<sup>AS</sup> / his  
'he gave it (to him) to his donkey'

*yewš-as-t*  
he.gave<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup>  
'he gave it to him'

*yewš-it i netta*  
he.gave<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / to / he.  
'he gave it to him'

Often the phrase *i* + noun/free pronoun is doubled by an Indirect object pronoun:

*yewš-as-t i netta*  
he.gave<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / to / he  
'he gave it (to him) to him'

In phrases where one would expect the preposition standing alone, the element *umi* is used, e.g.

*d yenni umi yenza uššen*  
PRED / those / to.whom / he.killed<sup>P</sup> / jackal<sup>FS</sup>  
'they were those (people) for whom he had killed the jackal'

The dative preposition and the Indirect object pronoun are used to refer to a participant that is involved in the action without being entirely affected by the action. It is found with typical dative verbs, such as *ewš* 'to give'. It can also convey that only part of the Object is affected, or that the Object is emotionally involved, but not directly. In the same vein, it can mark a person to whose profit or detriment the action is executed, e.g.

*mešdeyy-as i mmi*  
I.combed<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / to / my.son  
'I combed my son' (that is, his hair, not the entire person)

iyqas-as i tfunast  
he.slaughtered<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / to / cow<sup>AS</sup>  
'he slaughtered the cow'<sup>23</sup>

yeny-am baba-m  
he.killed<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>F:SGIO</sup> / father-your<sup>F:SG</sup>  
'he killed (to your detriment) your father'

syi<sup>y</sup>-am i<sup>ž</sup>zen t<sup>č</sup>umubin  
I.bought<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>FSG30</sup> / one / car  
'I have bought you a car'

Datives and indirect object pronouns are regularly used with verbs of perception, except for 'to see', e.g.

*sřiy-as i mmi*  
I.heard<sup>p</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / to / my.son  
'I heard my son'

### 9.1.9 *adu* ~ *sadu* 'under'

*adu tefrewt* = *sadu tefrewt*  
under / wood<sup>AS</sup>  
'under the wood'

*adu nn-es = sadu nn-es*  
under / of-3SG  
'underneath it'

### 9.1.10 *n* 'of'

The preposition *n* is used for expressing possession and belonging.

*taddaat n temyaat-enni*  
house / of / woman<sup>AS</sup>-that  
'the house of that woman'

<sup>23</sup> The element of partial affection comes from the fact that *yag* 'to slaughter' refers to Islamic practice, in which the throat of the animal is cut. A more precise translation would be 'to cut the throat to'.

*yedži-s n temyaat-enni* 'the daughter of that woman' (see 11.1)  
 daughter-her / of / woman<sup>AS</sup>-that

It is also regularly used with expressions of quantity, including numerals (see 10.1.1), e.g.

*qabea n tfunasin*  
 four / of / cows<sup>AS</sup>  
 'four cows'

On the morphology of this preposition, cf. also 2.4.5.

### 9.1.11 *ař* 'until'

The preposition *ař* 'until' is used both in temporal and in spatial meanings. It is one out of three prepositions which are followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

*teqqim din ař tameddit*  
 she.stayed<sup>P</sup> / there / until / evening<sup>FS</sup>  
 'she stayed there until the evening'

*uyuan ař amšan-nni waa ssinen qae*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.walked<sup>P</sup> / until / place<sup>FS</sup>-that / not / they<sup>M</sup>.know<sup>NP</sup> / entirely  
 'they walked until a place that they did not know at all'

It is impossible to combine *ař* with a pronoun.

### 9.1.12 *břa* ~ *mbřa* 'without'

The preposition *břa*, *mbřa*, 'without' is followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

*yus-d mbřa tamyat nmes*  
 he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / without / woman<sup>FS</sup> / his  
 'he came without his wife'

When pronominalized, the preposition (*m*)*břa* is followed by a free pronoun.

*yus-d mbřa nihni*  
 he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / without / they<sup>PL</sup>  
 'he came without them'

Alternatively, a construction with the preposition *zí* 'from' is used, e.g.

*yus-d mbřa zzay-sen*  
 he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / without / from-them<sup>M</sup>  
 'he came without them'

### 9.1.13 *am* 'like' and *amešnaw* 'like'

These synonymous prepositions behave differently as to the state of the following noun. The preposition *am* is followed by a noun in the Annexed State, while *amešnaw* is followed by a noun in the Free State, e.g.

*am weyyuř* = *amešnaw ayyuř*  
 like / donkey<sup>AS</sup> like / donkey<sup>FS</sup>  
 'like a donkey'

After these prepositions, the free pronouns are used, e.g.

wanita *d* amesřem am nešš  
this.one<sup>M</sup> / PRED / muslim<sup>FS</sup> / like / I  
'this one is a muslim just like me'

yus-d *danita* ižzen amešnaw šekk  
he.came<sup>p</sup>-hither / here / one / like / you<sup>M:SG</sup>  
'somebody came here (who looked) just like you'

9.1.14 d 'and'

This preposition is only used to coordinate Noun Phrases (see 17.1). It is followed by a noun in the Annexed State. The free pronouns are used, e.g.

neşş *d* yayetma  
I / and / my.brothers<sup>AS</sup>  
'me and my brothers'

nešš d netta  
I / and / he  
'he and I'

## 9.2 Compound prepositions

Compound prepositions consist of a prepositional element which is linked to the noun or pronoun by means of a basic preposition. There are two types of compound prepositions. The first type is linked to a noun by means of *i* 'to'; the pronoun is suffixed to the preposition, e.g.

*z̥zał i t̥addaą̥t*  
in.front / to / house  
'in front of, very close to the house'

zzates 'in front of it, very close to it'

*awaan i taddaat*  
behind / to / house  
'behind the house'

*awaanas* 'behind it'<sup>24</sup>

The second type has the same construction with nouns, i.e., by means of the preposition *i*. When followed by a pronoun, it is linked to it by the genitive *n* 'of', e.g.

ttaaf i taddaat  
beside / to / house  
'beside the house'

<sup>24</sup> This can be interpreted in two ways: either as a pre-prepositional form *awaana-* followed by a prepositional pronominal suffix, or as a form *awaan* followed by the Indirect object pronoun. The latter interpretation is not possible with *zzates*.

*ttqaf nnes*

beside / his

'beside it'

Some frequent compound prepositions of this type are:

<i>qibař i/n</i>	'in front of'
<i>awru-d i/n</i>	'towards (here)'
<i>ayırın i/n</i>	'towards (there)'
<i>ažemmad i/n</i>	'on the other side of'
<i>swadday i/n</i>	'under'
<i>sennež i/n</i>	'above'

## 10. Quantifiers

### 10.1 Non-universal quantifiers and indefinites

All quantifiers and indefinites, except 'one' (see below) and the universal quantifiers ('all', 'every'), are linked to the quantified noun by means of the preposition *n* 'of', e.g.

<i>ṭṛāṭa n ṭemyarīn</i>	'three women (lit. three of women)'
<i>aṭṭas n yewḍan</i>	'many people'
<i>Šwayt n waman</i>	'a bit of water'
<i>ša n waman</i>	'some water'

This is also the case of quantification by means of nouns, like in expressions as 'a grain of X', 'a bag (full) of X', e.g.

<i>ṭaḥebbušt n watay</i>	'a granule of tea'
<i>ṭxanšet n arriš</i>	'a bag (full) of feathers'

Some borrowed adverbs have a different construction with numerals, in which the noun is immediately linked to the numeral. The numerals have special forms in this case (see 10.1.1), e.g., *teṛt iyam* '(during) three days'.

Numerals, as well as a number of other quantifiers, can be followed by a bound pronoun. In this case, there is a linking element *it*, e.g.

<i>ṭṛāṭa itney</i>	'the three of us'
<i>marrā itsen</i>	'all of them'
<i>aṭṭas itsen</i>	'a lot of them'
<i>drus itsen</i>	'few of them'

#### 10.1.1 Numerals

Tarifiyt has borrowed all numerals from Arabic, except for 'one'. The numeral *iżzen* 'one' doubles as a marker of indefiniteness, e.g.

<i>iżzen ssedžum</i>	'one ladder, a ladder'
----------------------	------------------------

This is the only numeral that has a gender distinction, at least when occurring on its own. It then has the forms *iżzen* (M) and *ištēn* (F). When determining a noun, the feminine form is *išt*. In this position, the feminine form is *išt* only possible with Berber-morphology nouns (Class I, see 3.2.1), and even then often the masculine form is used, e.g.

<i>iżzen waayaz</i>	'one man, a man'	(masculine noun)
<i>iżzen ṭemyaṭ ~ išt temyaṭ</i>	'one woman, a woman'	(Class I feminine noun)
<i>iżzen yabyuṭa</i>	'one sea gull, a sea gull'	(Class II feminine noun)

Different from other numerals, the numeral 'one' does not seem to use the genitival marker *n*. This is impossible to show for forms such as *iżżeñ ssežum*, which could also be *iżż n ssežum*, but can be shown clearly from forms starting in *t*, which lack the *n*:

*išt temyaat*

'one woman'

One may contrast this to a regular genitival phrase with two *t*'s, such as *ṭasebnešt n temyaat*, 'the scarf of the woman', where the *n* does surface. Morphologically, the final segment of *iżżeñ* is similar to the preposition *n*, however, see 2.4.5.

In addition to being sensitive to number, 'one' is unique among numerals because it has Annexed State forms: *yiżżeñ*, *yišten*, *yišt*. This is the case after prepositions and with postverbal subjects when the numeral stands alone. However, with postverbal subjects where the numeral is followed by a noun, only the forms *iżżeñ* and *išt* are possible.

A slightly different set of numerals is used in combination with a number of loanwords used as adverbs, viz. *snin* '(during) years', *šhuq* '(during) months' and *ijyam* '(during) days'. The table below lists the numerals such as found normally, as well as an example of the borrowed adverbial set, using the word 'year'.

	M	F	with borrowed temporal adverbs (example: 'year')
1 in isolation	<i>iżżeñ</i>	<i>išten</i>	<i>eam</i> 'one year'
before noun	<i>iżżeñ</i>	<i>iżżeñ ~ išt</i>	
2	<i>tnayen</i>		<i>eamayen</i> 'two years' (Arabic dual form)
3	<i>ṭr̥aṭa</i>		<i>ṭer̥t snin</i>
4	<i>qaqbea</i>		<i>qaqbeə snin</i>
5	<i>xemsa</i>		<i>xems snin</i>
6	<i>setta</i>		<i>sett snin</i>
7	<i>sebea</i>		<i>sbeə snin</i>
8	<i>ṭmenya</i>		<i>ṭmen snin</i>
9	<i>tesea</i>		<i>tsee snin</i>
10	<i>eeʃra</i>		<i>eʃqə snin</i>
11	<i>hiðeaš</i>		<i>hiðeaʃqə sna</i> (also <i>eam</i> )
12	<i>ṭeneaš</i>		<i>ṭeneaʃqə sna</i> (also <i>eam</i> )
13	<i>ṭr̥etṭaš</i>		<i>ṭr̥etṭaʃqə sna</i> (also <i>eam</i> )

14	qabəeṭaš	qabəeṭašqɑ sna (also εam)
15	xemmeztaš	xemmeztašqɑ sna (also εam)
16	seṭṭaš	seṭṭašqɑ sna (also εam)
17	sbeṭṭaš	sbeṭṭašqɑ sna (also εam)
18	ṭmenṭaš	ṭmenṭašqɑ sna (also εam)
19	tseṭṭaš	tseṭṭašqɑ sna (also εam)
20	eišrin	eišrin sna (also εam)
21	wahd-u-eišrin	wahd-u-eišrin sna (also εam)
22	ṭnayn-u-eišrin	ṭnayn-u-eišrin sna (also εam)
23	ṭṛaṭa-u-eišrin	ṭṛaṭa-u-eišrin sna (also εam)
30	ṭṛaṭin	ṭṛaṭin sna (also εam)
40	aqbein	aqbein sna (also εam)
50	xemsin	xemsin sna (also εam)
60	settin	settin sna (also εam)
70	sebein	sebein sna (also εam)
80	ṭmanyin	ṭmanyin sna (also εam)
90	tesein	tesein sna (also εam)
100	mya	myat sna (also εam)
101	mya-u-wahit	mya-u-wahit sna (also εam)
102	mya-u-ṭnayen	mya-u-ṭnayen sna (also εam)
200	mitayen	mitayen sna (also εam)
300	teṛt-myay	teṛt-myat sna (also εam)
1000	ařef	ařef sna (also εam)
1000.000	milyun ~ menyul	milyun sna (also εam)

When counting two, some borrowed adverbs have Arabic dual forms instead of a numeral: *mqaṭayen* 'twice', *εamayen* 'during two years', *šeḥrayen* 'during two

months', *yumayen* 'during two days'. When these adverbs refer to a single occurrence, no numeral construction is used. The forms of four of these adverbs are given below. In addition the corresponding normal nouns (i.e. that are not adverbs) are given:

	'year'	'month'	'day'	'time' (French: <i>fois</i> )
noun	<i>asegg"as</i>	<i>şşhqa</i>	<i>nnhqa</i>	<i>amuq</i>
adverb (once)	<i>eam</i>	<i>şhqa</i>	<i>nnhqa</i> <sup>25</sup>	<i>iżż umuq</i>
adverb (twice)	<i>eamayen</i>	<i>şehrayen</i>	<i>yumayen</i>	<i>mąqtayen</i>
in counting 3-10	<i>snin</i>	<i>şhuq</i>	<i>iyyam</i>	<i>imuqan</i> <sup>26</sup>
in counting >10	<i>sna ~ eam</i>	<i>şhqa</i>	<i>yum</i>	<i>imuqan</i>

Ordinal numbers are expressed by means of the element *wiss ~ uss* (no gender difference) followed by the numeral, e.g.

*tamyaat nnes wiss qaqbea*  
woman<sup>15</sup> / his / ORDINAL / four  
'his fourth wife'

### 10.1.2 Other non-universal quantifiers and indefinites

Some other non-universal quantifiers are:

<i>atṭas</i> (AS: <i>waṭṭas</i> )	'much, many'
<i>atṭas n waman</i>	'much water'
<i>atṭas n temyarin</i>	'many women'

<i>drus</i> 'few, little'	
<i>drus n waman</i>	'little water'
<i>drus n temyarin</i>	'few women'

<i>şwayt ~ şway</i>	'few, little'
<i>şwayt n waman</i>	'a little bit of water'
<i>şwayt ibawen</i>	'some beans'

<i>řebead</i>	'a couple of'
<i>řebead n temyarin</i>	'a couple of women'
<i>řebead n nekrasa (&lt; řekrasa)</i>	'a couple of chairs'

<i>ša</i> 'some (both with singulars and plurals)' (basically an indefinite)	
<i>ša n waman</i>	'some water'
<i>ša n nħażet (&lt; řħażet)</i>	'some thing'
<i>ša n yiżżeen</i>	'somebody'
<i>ša n tħenżirin</i>	'some girls'

<sup>25</sup> With deictic clitics, the *n* is not geminated: *nħar-a* 'today', *nħaq-nni* 'that day'.

<sup>26</sup> With quantifiers such as *ša* 'some' and *řebead* 'a couple (of)', the adverb has the form *marrat*, e.g. *ša n marrat* 'some times'.

## 10.2 Universal quantifiers

Tarifiyt has three universal quantifiers: *m(m)arrā* 'all', *qae* 'fully, entirely' and *mkuř ~ kur* 'every', all of which are borrowed from (dialectal) Arabic.

The element *marra* is used with a noun or a pronoun (free or bound, including subject affixes on the verb). It can only be used with plurals, collectives and mass nouns. It can stand alone, or it occurs before or after the element it quantifies, e.g.

žmeē marra ayyud nnem  
gather!^ / all / clothes<sup>F5</sup> / your<sup>F:SG</sup>  
'gather all your clothes!'

yežmeē-d aysum-enni marra  
he.gathered<sup>P</sup>-hither / meat<sup>F5</sup>-that / all  
'he gathered all that meat'

marra iyezran ssney-ten  
all / rivers / I.know<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup>  
'all rivers, I know them'

marra a d-ayney  
all / AD / us<sup>DO</sup>-he.kills<sup>A</sup>  
'he will kill all of us'

yiwy-iiten marra  
he.brought<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M</sup> / all  
'he took them all away'

marra a d-ťasent  
all / AD / hither-you<sup>F:PL</sup>.come<sup>A</sup>  
'you must all come'

dehšent marra  
they<sup>F</sup>.laughed<sup>P</sup> / all  
'they all laughed'

ťhaay marra min yaas di taddaat  
she.ground<sup>P</sup> / all / what / at.her / in / house  
'she ground everything that she had at home'

itegg marra mayen texsed  
he.does<sup>I</sup> / all / what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup>  
'he does everything you want'

The element *qae* is mostly a quantification on a verb or an adverbial phrase, e.g.

mařa tūgīd qae  
if / you<sup>SG</sup>.refuse<sup>P</sup> / entirely  
'if you entirely refuse'

šhař qae?  
how.much / entirely  
'how much in total?'

mi š ya yegg qae?  
what / you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / AD / he.does<sup>A</sup> / entirely  
'what can he do to you at all?'

In this sense, it is commonly used in negative contexts where it translates as '(not) at all', e.g.

*qa waa yaakent bu familya qae*  
 QA / not / at.you<sup>PL</sup> / not / family / entirely  
 'you do not have any family at all'

*waa ssinen qae*  
 not / they<sup>M</sup>.know<sup>NP</sup> / entirely  
 'they don't know at all'

It also appears as a quantification on an adjective, e.g.

*aneggaru qae*  
 last<sup>MSGFS</sup> / entirely  
 'the very last'

*wenni daysen ameqqran qae*  
 the.one<sup>M</sup> / in.them<sup>M</sup> / big<sup>MSGFS</sup> / entirely  
 'the one who was the very biggest'

The element *qae* mostly follows the element it quantifies, but sometimes occurs in initial position, e.g.

*qae waa dasen-yenni ša*  
 entirely / not / them<sup>MIO</sup>-he.said<sup>NP</sup> / anything  
 'he didn't tell them anything at all'

The distributive universal quantifier *mkuř* ~ *kuř* 'every, each' is used with singular nouns. It always stands before the noun it quantifies, e.g.

*kuř aeešši*  
 every / evening<sup>TS</sup>  
 'every evening'

*kuř ižzen yiwi tamyaat nnes*  
 every / one / he.brought<sup>P</sup> / woman<sup>FS</sup> / his  
 'each one took his wife there'

### 10.3 'whoever', 'wherever', etc.

A different type of quantification is found with adverbs and conjunctions of the type 'whoever', 'wherever'. In such meanings, the element *mma* is used after the element it quantifies, e.g.

*řexxu bda mani mma texsed*  
 now / start<sup>IA</sup> / where / ever / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup>  
 'now start wherever you want'

*awyem-t-id waha mameš mma tegga*  
 bring<sup>[A3MP1</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup>-hither / just / how / ever / she.does<sup>P</sup>  
 'bring her here, however she may be'

When *mma* is combined with *kuř*, it is translated as 'whenever', e.g.

*kuř mma yus-d wuššen itaf-it ttaqf nnes*  
 every / ever / he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / jackal<sup>AS</sup> / he.finds<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / beside / his  
 'whenever Jackal arrived, he found him beside him'

## 11. The Noun Phrase

### 11.1 The structure of the Noun Phrase

The core part of a noun phrase is a noun, a free pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun or a quantifier, as in (yežž-as) *třaṭa* 'he left him) three (things)'. When the core is a free pronoun, it cannot be determined or modified by any element except (m)*marra* 'all' or a relative clause. The basic structure of the Noun Phrase is as follows:

[Indefinite] [Quantifier] (n) [Noun/Pronoun]-[\*Pro]-[Deictic] [Adjective] [n + Noun Phrase] [(m)*marra*]

In this scheme, \*Pro stands for the possessive pronouns which are suffixed to some kinship terms (see 5.2.6). In addition to this, the Noun Phrase can be modified by a relative clause, treated in chapter 15.

Indefinites precede quantifiers in the Noun Phrase, e.g.

*ižžen tñayen n ddqayeq* 'about two minutes, some two minutes'  
one / two / of / minutes

Most quantifiers are linked to the core of the Noun Phrase by means of the preposition *n* (see 2.4.5 and 9.1.10), but some precede the core without further linking, e.g.

*šwayt n waman* 'a bit of water'  
bit / of / water<sup>AS</sup>

*marra řeškäq-nni* 'all those soldiers'  
all / soldiers-that

Possessive pronouns are only suffixed to a small set of kinship terms (see 5.2.6). They precede the deictic clitics, e.g.

*yemma-s-enni* 'that mother of his'  
mother-his-that

These kinship nouns express possession of a lexical Noun Phrase by means of double possessive marking: first with the possessive pronoun, second with a possessive phrase using the preposition *n*, e.g.

*baba-s n thenžiat* 'the father (lit. her father) of the girl'  
father-her / of / girl<sup>AS</sup>

The deictic elements follow the core, but precede any other determinations. Examples:

*wenni ameqqrän* 'the big one'  
the.one<sup>M</sup> / big<sup>MSGFS</sup>

*uma-s-enni ameqqrän* 'that big brother of his'  
brother-his-that / big<sup>MSGFS</sup>

*yis-a n Yusef*  
horse<sup>FS</sup>-this / of / Yousef

'this horse of Yousef'

*tsara ḫṣarī-enni marra*  
she.walked<sup>P</sup> / street-that / all

'she walked through the entire street'

Possession is normally constructed by means of the preposition *n* 'of'. Possessive phrases follow the possessive pronouns and the deictic clitics, and precede *marra*. Examples:

*yessi-s-enni n ṭemza*  
daughters-her-that / of / ogress<sup>AS</sup>  
'these daughters of the ogress' (lit. these her daughters of)

*arṛzeq nnes marra*  
fortune / his / all  
'all his fortune'

Adjectives follow possessive pronouns (as found with kinship terms) and deictic clitics. In possessive constructions with the preposition *n* both orders are possible, e.g.

*wečma-tsent-enni tameqqrant* 'this older sister of theirs'  
sister-their<sup>F</sup>-that / big<sup>FSGFS</sup>

*paṭrun nsen ameqqrān* 'their big boss'  
boss / their<sup>M</sup> / big<sup>MSGFS</sup> /

*paṭrun ameqqrān nsen* 'their big boss'  
boss / big<sup>MSGFS</sup> / their<sup>M</sup>

The element *marra* is either in first or in last position in the Noun Phrase (see 10.2).

## 11.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in Tarifiyt form a sub-class of the noun. They have all properties of normal nouns, but are special in that they can follow the core of a Noun Phrase to modify it. When functioning themselves as the core of the Noun Phrase, adjectives behave exactly like other nouns and are inflected for gender, number and state, e.g.

*tameqqrant* (FS) 'the big one (feminine)'  
*n tameqqrant* (AS) 'of the big one (feminine)'

When functioning as a modifier, they agree with the noun or pronoun they modify in gender and number, but not in state; in this construction they always have the Free State, e.g.

*n ṭmuāt tameqqrant* 'of the big country'  
of / earth<sup>AS</sup> / big<sup>FSGFS</sup>

There are two basic constructions with adjectives when used as modifiers. The first construction is used when the Noun Phrase has a definite meaning. This may be explicit due to the use of deictic clitics, but it may also be inferred from context. It consists of simple juxtaposition of the adjective without any further linking element, e.g.

<i>tammuqt tameqqrant</i>	'the big country'
earth <sup>FS</sup> / big <sup>MSG:FS</sup>	
<i>tammuqt-a tameqqrant</i>	'this big country'
earth <sup>FS</sup> -this / big <sup>MSG:FS</sup>	

The second construction is used when the Noun Phrase is semantically indefinite. More often than not, this is explicit due to the presence of an indefinite determiner such as *iżżeñ* 'a', or *ša* 'some'; however, these determiners are not obligatory and indefinite semantics can also be inferred from context. In this construction the adjective is linked to the core by means of the predicative particle *d* (see 13.5), e.g.

<i>iżżeñ weyyuř d ameqqrant</i>	'a big donkey'
one / donkey <sup>AS</sup> / PRED / big <sup>MSG:FS</sup>	
<i>ayyuř d ameqqrant</i>	'a big donkey'
donkey <sup>FS</sup> / PRED / big <sup>MSG:FS</sup>	

All adjectives are Class I nouns, except for *żżid* 'new'. This adjective has no gender/number inflection. Moreover, it has different syntax from the others in the definite construction. When the core is definite, *żżid* is linked to it by means of the preposition *n* 'of'. The indefinite construction is the same as with the other adjectives, e.g.

<i>qama n żżid</i>	'the new bed'
bed / of / new	
<i>iżżeñ qama d żżid</i>	'a new bed'
one / bed / PRED / new	

Another unusual adjective is *nneyni* ~ *nnedni* 'other'. Like *żżid* it remains the same in both genders and numbers. When modifying a noun, it is syntactically similar to normal Class I adjectives. However, when the core of the Noun Phrase is a demonstrative pronoun, it is directly suffixed to the pronominal base, e.g.

<i>aayaz-a nneyni</i>	
man-this / other	
'this other man'	
<i>w-enneyni</i>	'the other (SG:M)'
<i>t-enneyni</i>	'the other (SG:F)'
<i>i-nneyni</i>	'the others (PL:M)'
<i>ti-nneyni</i>	'the others (PL:F)'

Adjectival concepts are often expressed by verbs in Tarifiyt. In such cases, where English would use a modifying adjective, Tarifiyt uses a relative clause instead, e.g.

<i>quči-nni yeyřan</i>	
car-that / being.expensive <sup>P</sup>	
'the expensive car (lit. the car that is expensive)'	

## 12. Interrogation

There are two types of interrogative sentences: those that concern the entire statement, and which can be answered by yes or no, and those that concern only part of the statement, so-called content questions (also known as wh-questions).

## 12.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions in Tarifit are mostly preceded by the element *ma*, e.g.

ma yaak ša n txadent am ta?  
q / at.you<sup>MSG</sup> / some / of / ring / like / this.here<sup>1</sup>  
'do you have a ring like this one?'

*ma d šekk?* 'is it you?'  
Q / PRED / you<sup>MSG</sup>

After *ma*, verbal clitics remain in postverbal position, e.g.

*ma iwdən-d* 'have they arrived?  
o / they<sup>M</sup>.arrived<sup>P</sup>-hither

It is also possible to use a rising intonation contour as the only marker of the interrogation, e.g.

<i>d wa?</i> PRED / this.one <sup>M</sup>	'is it this one?'
<i>mlih ša?</i> good / some	'are you o.k.?'

## 12.2 Content questions

Content questions use interrogative pronouns. Questions of this type are akin to relative clauses in their syntax, and have a number of typical relative features, such as clitic fronting and the use of the participle when the question word is the subject of the question (see 15.4). The following basic interrogatives are found:

$wi \sim u$  'who(m)'

wi dawem-t-yennan? 'who told it to you?  
 who / you<sup>M:PLIO</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup>-saying<sup>P</sup>

wi yewta uhenzia-nni? 'whom did the boy hit?  
 who / he.hit<sup>P</sup> / boy<sup>AS</sup>-that

*min ~ mayen* 'what'

*min das-tennid i Mimun?* 'what did you say to Mimoun?'  
 what / him<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.said<sup>P</sup> / to / Mimoun

*min ṭaazzud?* 'what are you looking for?'  
 what / you<sup>SG</sup>.search<sup>I</sup>

*mayen texsed?* 'what do you want?'  
 what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup>

When followed by a consonant, *min* can be shortened to *mi*, e.g.

*mi šem-ibedđřen?* 'what changed you?'  
 what / you<sup>SG.D0</sup>-changing<sup>P</sup>

*mani* 'where'

*mani ttřid?* 'where do you live? (lit. where are you habitually?)'  
 where / you<sup>SG</sup>.are<sup>I</sup>

*manis* 'whence, which way'

*manis ya ṭadfed?* 'along which way will you enter?'  
 whence / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.enter<sup>A</sup>

*manis d-ṭiwyed manay-a?* 'whence did you bring this?'  
 whence / hither-you<sup>SG</sup>.brought<sup>P</sup> / thing-this

*meřmi* 'when'

*meřmi ttetřsed?* 'when do you usually sleep?'  
 when / you<sup>SG</sup>.sleep<sup>I</sup>

*mešhař ~ šhař* 'how much, how large'

*mešhař iwezzén?* 'how much does it weigh?'  
 how.much / it<sup>M</sup>.weighs<sup>I</sup>

*mayemmi, mayaa, mix* 'why'

*mayemmi tetrud?* 'why are you crying?'  
 why / you<sup>SG</sup>.cry<sup>I</sup>

*mameš* 'how'

*mameš yegga manay-a?* 'how did he do that?'  
 how / he.did<sup>P</sup> / thing-this

The basic question words can be extended by several means. In the first place, they may be preceded by a preposition, e.g. *zi meřmi* 'since when', *ař mani* 'until where'. In the second place, *wi* 'who' and *min* 'what' can be followed by a preposition standing alone. This is part of regular relative clause structure, which has the isolated form of the preposition standing at the beginning of the relative clause in prepositional relatives (see 9.1 and 15.2.4), e.g.

*min zi tuhhřed?* 'from what have you become tired?'  
 what / from / you<sup>SG</sup>.are.tired<sup>P</sup>

*mi xef ya teqqimed?* 'what are you going to sit on?'  
 what / on / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.sit<sup>A</sup>

*wi ked d-tusid?* 'with whom have you come here?'  
 who / with / hither-you<sup>SG</sup>.came<sup>P</sup>

The complex *ma yaa* 'why' has a lexicalized meaning and an irregular shape (*ma* rather than *mi*), e.g.

*mayaawaa waa d-tusid* 'why didn't you come?'  
 why / not / hither-you<sup>SG</sup>.came<sup>NP</sup>

### 12.3 Interrogation on nouns ('which', 'what kind of')

For interrogation on nouns, two constructions can be used. In the first place, one may use *man* 'which' followed by a noun in the Free State; in the second place one may use *mana* 'what kind of', which is followed by a noun in the Annexed State, e.g.

*man aayaz?* 'which man?'  
 which / man<sup>FS</sup>

*mana waayaz-a?* 'what kind of man is this?'  
 what.kind / man<sup>AS</sup>-this

The element *man* can also be followed by a special set of demonstrative pronouns (see 6.2), e.g.

*man wen d-yusin* 'which one has come? / who has come?'  
 which / that<sup>MSG</sup> / hither-coming<sup>P</sup>

### 12.4 Question words as subordinators

Like in English, it is common to use question words as subordinators in non-interrogative contexts. Examples:

*ad xzaay ma a d-yaas*  
 AD / I.see<sup>A</sup> / Q / AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup>  
 'I shall see if he comes'

*mani ya naf a nessens*  
 where / AD / we.find<sup>A</sup> / AD / we.spend.the.night<sup>A</sup>  
 'where we shall find (a place) we shall spend the night'

### 13. Aspect, mood and negation

As described in 4.3, Tarifyt has different verb stems used to convey different aspects and moods, as well as negation. These stems can, and often must, be combined with preverbal particles, such as the modal particle *ad* and the negation particle *waa*. In addition to these preverbal particles, there are two particles that have impact on the aspectual and temporal interpretation, but which function rather on the level of the sentence: *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'.

In this chapter, first the basic uses of the positive aspectual stems, and their combination with the preverbal particles are studied. After this, the sentence modifiers *qa* and *tuya* are treated. Then constructions that can be translated by 'be' in English are treated. The final part gives an overview of negation strategies.

### 13.1 The Aorist

The Aorist is used with or without the particle *ad* or *xad*. Without a particle, the Aorist only appears in orders. It is the form of the normal Imperative, e.g.

adef-d 'come in!  
enter! ^-hither

In series of orders, it is possible (but not obligatory) to use an Aorist form with normal second person inflection for all but the initial order, e.g.

gg ixef nnem theršed, tezzred di tmuat,  
do!^A / self<sup>S</sup> / your<sup>F:SG</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.are.sick<sup>P</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.lie<sup>A</sup> / in / earth<sup>AS</sup>

*tegged ižzen tzewda dayes řhenni*  
you<sup>SG</sup>.put<sup>A</sup> / one / plate<sup>AS</sup> / in.it / henna.

In this example, the first order (*gg*) is an imperative, while the other orders (*taṣṣaḍ*) are normally inflected 2<sup>nd</sup> person Aorist forms.

Otherwise, the Aorist only occurs in combination with the element *ad* (and its allomorph *ya*), signalling that the event is not yet realized, or *xa(d)* with similar meaning, but expressing more commitment by the speaker as to the expectation, e.g.

*a d-yas ead*  
AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup> / still  
'he will come (I suppose), he may come'

*xa d-yas ead*  
XAD / hither-he.comes<sup>^</sup> / still  
'he will certainly / no doubt come'

*Ad* can also be followed by the Imperfective. In that case, it has habitual meaning.

*Ad* + Aorist has the following interpretations:

1) A future. Although the future is by definition uncertain, the use of *ad* does not seem to stress this uncertainty; it is possible to use *ad* + Aorist for events about which one is absolutely certain, e.g., because they are religious dogmas.

*tiwešša ad yiři d sseft*  
tomorrow / AD / he.is<sup>A</sup> / PRED / saturday  
'tomorrow it will be Saturday'

*di yum-lqiyama, ad yehkem arrebbi x yewdan*  
in / Judgement.Day / AD / he.judges<sup>A</sup> / Lord / on / people<sup>AS</sup>  
'on Judgement Day, the Lord will judge over the people'

2) A probability, or possibility

*a d-yas εad* 'he will come, he may come'  
AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup> / still

*uđaqqbi a d-yas* 'he will probably come'  
probably / AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup>

3) When preceded by another verb, *ad* + A may take a finality ('in order to') interpretation, e.g.

*tewš-asen ad arren ibawen*  
she.gave<sup>F</sup>-them<sup>O</sup> / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.plant<sup>A</sup> / beans  
'she gave them so that they would plant (*ad* + A) beans (i.e. she gave them beans that they should plant)'

*Ad* + Aorist is found after the conjunctions *baš*, *hima* ~ *huma* 'so that', e.g.

*teğgen የfaxaq baš ad ssejwen lmakla*  
they<sup>M</sup>.put<sup>I</sup> / charcoal / in.order / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.cook<sup>A</sup> / food  
'they put charcoal in order (*baš*) to cook (*ad* + A) food'

4) In combination with the 1PL:INJ form, *ad* is used to convey an injunction to a group of people, i.e. 'let us...', e.g.

*a naqhet* 'let's go'

5) A habit. In this function *ad* competes with the habitual or iterative reading of the Imperfective (see below). It is not unlike the English use of 'would' in sentences like 'they would clean the house every morning', although, different from English, the Berber construction is not restricted to past contexts, e.g.

*ad aazun x yemma-tsen ad sseqsan*  
AD / they<sup>M</sup>.search<sup>A</sup> / on / mother-their / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.ask<sup>A</sup>  
'they looked (all the time) (*ad* + A) for their mother, they asked (all the time) (*ad* + A)'

In many cases, *ad* + Aorist in this meaning is found in a context where the habituality or repetition is expressed by the Imperfective earlier on, e.g.

*itawi tixsi-nni a t-yessidef, a t-id-yarr*  
 he.brings<sup>1</sup> / sheep-that / AD / her<sup>DO</sup>-he.introduces<sup>A</sup> / AD / her<sup>DO</sup>-hither-he.puts.back<sup>A</sup>

'he brought (I) all the time the (same) sheep, he would let (ad + A) it in and bring (ad + A) it back'

6) A somewhat unexpected use of *ad* + Aorist is after the conjunction *umi* 'when', relating to a past event. In this case, the modal meaning of *ad* is completely obliterated. In this subordinated context always the allomorph *ya* is used, e.g.

*umi ya yemyaq iqess-ayi ifassen*  
 when / AD / he.is.big<sup>A</sup> / he.cut<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / hands  
 'when he had grown up (ad + A), he cut off my hands'

It is also possible to use the Perfective after *umi*; the exact difference between the two constructions is not clear.

## 13.2 The Imperfective

The Imperfective is mainly used in the following three contexts:

1. in order to express that the event happens habitually or repeatedly, e.g.

*ižzen yetkeyyaf ssbasa*  
 one / he.smokes<sup>1</sup> / hasheesh.pipes  
 'somebody smokes habitually (I) hasheesh pipes'

*asřem xmi yetmetta di řebħaa, inetħtar-it-id řebħaa*  
 fish<sup>1S</sup> / when / he.dies<sup>1</sup> / in / sea / he.throws<sup>1</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither / sea  
 'a fish, when it dies (I) in the sea, the sea throws (I) it out (on the land)'

*a kiš d-iřeħħeg žženn itegg qae mayen tħexxid*  
 AD / with.you<sup>MSG</sup> / hither-he.arrives<sup>A</sup> / djinn / he.does<sup>1</sup> / entirely / what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup>  
 'a ghost will come out (ad + A) to you who does (I) everything you want'

*yetqedžab i teħramin uṛa d išten ma tħus-az-d*  
 he.tried<sup>1</sup> / to / girls<sup>AS</sup> / even / PRED / one<sup>F</sup> / not / she.went<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-hither  
 'he tried (the shoe) (I) with the girls (one after the other), but it did not fit (P) any of them'

When accompanied by *ad*, the Imperfective expresses a non-realized event that is to occur habitually or several times, e.g.

*a daš-ntiš min zi ya tħeħed*  
 AD / you<sup>MSGIO</sup>-we.give<sup>1</sup> / what / from / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.live<sup>A</sup>  
 'we will always give (I) you what you will live by (ad + A)'

2. In order to express an event of longer duration. In most cases, this is emphasized by the repetition of the Imperfective verb, as in the example below.

*amenni yegħġua yegħġua yegħġua yetseqsa yetseqsa*  
 like.this / he.walks<sup>1</sup> / he.walks<sup>1</sup> / he.walks<sup>1</sup> / he.asks<sup>1</sup> / he.asks<sup>1</sup>  
 'thus he went (I) and went (I) and went (I) and asked (I) and asked (I)'

It is possible to use *ad* + I in order to express a habitual/iterative of an event of longer duration. This construction is similar to the habitual use of *ad* + A, but adds an element of duration. E.g. in the following sentence from a story, two boys flee repeatedly from an ogress and have to walk for a long time. The repetition is expressed by the use of *ad*, the longer duration by the use of the Imperfective and the repetition of the verb:

*ad gguan ad gguan ad gguan*  
 AD / they<sup>M</sup>.walk<sup>I</sup> / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.walk<sup>I</sup> / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.walk<sup>I</sup>  
 'they would go (*ad* + I) and go (*ad* + I) and go (*ad* + I) (time and again)'

3. In order to express an ongoing action (progressive). In its progressive use, the Imperfective is almost always accompanied by the particle *qa*. As the progressive implies simultaneity to a certain time point (mostly the present), while *qa* expresses relevance to the moment of speaking, this is not unexpected. Examples:

*qa baba qa iteddez ari, aqzin qa yetzu*  
 QA / my.father / QA / he.pounds<sup>I</sup> / esparto<sup>FS</sup> / dog<sup>FS</sup> / QA / he.barks<sup>I</sup>  
 '(qa) my father is pounding (qa I) esparto grass and the dog is barking (qa I)'

According to general restrictions on the use of *qa* (see 13.4.1), it is not used when the verb stands in a subordinated clause, including cleft constructions and content questions, e.g.

*min da ttaged?*  
 what / here / you<sup>SG</sup>.do<sup>I</sup>  
 'what are you doing (I) here?'

4. The Imperfective without *ad* or *qa* is obligatory after a number of operator verbs, among others:

*bda* + I 'to start something', e.g.

*yebda usaadun nnes itett-it*  
 he.started<sup>D</sup> / mule<sup>AS</sup> / his / he.eats<sup>I</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup>  
 'his mule started to eat (I) it'

*qqim* + I 'to start doing something and go on with it'

*yeqqim yessat-ij itazzeř xas*  
 he.stayed<sup>D</sup> / he.beats<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / he.runs<sup>I</sup> / on.him  
 'he started to beat (I) him and run (I) after him (and went on doing this for a while)'

### 13.3 The Perfective

The Perfective has two basic interpretations, one dynamic, the other stative.

1. In its dynamic interpretation, the Perfective mainly refers to an event in the past, and is used, among others, as the normal narrative form, e.g.

*iżżeñ nnhaq yenna-as yinsi i wuššen*  
 one / day / he.said<sup>D</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / hedgehog<sup>AS</sup> / to / jackal<sup>AS</sup>  
 'one day, Hedgehog said (P) to Jackal'

When used in its dynamic interpretation, labile verbs (see 4.2.1) have a transitive reading, as for example with the verb *ɛemmaq* 'to fill, to be full':

*ieemmaq auyraf s waman*  
 he.filled<sup>P</sup> / jug<sup>FS</sup> / with / water<sup>AS</sup>  
 'he filled [P] the jug with water'

2. In its stative interpretation, the Perfective refers to a state. This state has no explicit reference to time: it can refer both to past and present states, e.g.

*Mřič tudes*  
 Melilla / she.is.close<sup>P</sup>  
 'Melilla is nearby [P]'

When taking a stative interpretation, labile verbs are intransitive, e.g., with the verb *ɛemmaq* 'to fill, to be full':

*ieemmaq uyraf s waman*  
 he.(is).filled<sup>P</sup> / jug<sup>AS</sup> / with / water<sup>AS</sup>  
 'the jug is full of water'

In this example, the jug is the subject of *ieemmaq*, as shown by the use of the Annexed State *uyraf*.

3. The Perfective is used in the protasis of hypothetical and counterfactual subordinate clauses.

*mařa teggid-ten a das-wšey yedži*  
 if / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>MDO</sup> / AD / you<sup>MSGIO</sup>-I.give<sup>A</sup> / my.daughter  
 'if you carry (P) them out (scil. certain assignments), I shall give (ad + A) you my daughter'

*mři teyrid iři tufid řxedmet tesbeh*  
 if / you<sup>SG</sup>.studied<sup>P</sup> / then / you<sup>SG</sup>.found<sup>P</sup> / work / it<sup>F</sup>.is.good<sup>P</sup>  
 'if you had studied (P), you would have found (P) a good job'

## 13.4 The sentence modifiers *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'

Tarifiyt has two sentence modifiers, which affect the temporal and aspectual reading of the sentence, *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past'.

### 13.4.1 *qa* 'present relevance'

The particle *qa* is used to indicate that the statement in the sentence is relevant to the time point which is taken as the ground for the statement; mostly this is the moment of speaking, i.e. the present; therefore this use will be labeled 'present relevance'. *Qa* can be combined with all aspects and moods, except the imperative, and the interpretation (or maybe rather translation into English) is different according to this.

<i>qa</i> + <i>ad</i> + Aorist	Insistence on a non-realized event; beware!
<i>qa</i> + Imperfective	1. Progressive (very frequent)
	2. Habitual relevant to the present situation (rare)
<i>qa</i> + Perfective	1. Dynamic Perfect
	2. State with present relevance

*Ad* + Aorist can be combined with the particle *qa*. In this case, it is often used as a warning 'beware of!', e.g.

*qaawę́, qa a d-yaš baba, qa a š-inę́y*

fleel<sup>A</sup> / QA / AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup> / my.father / QA / AD / you<sup>MSG:DO</sup>-he.kills<sup>A</sup>  
'fleel my father will come [*qa ad* + A] and he will kill [*qa ad* + A] you!'

*qa a traħed yaa barra*

QA / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>A</sup> / to / outside  
'beware of going out!, do not go out!'

*qa ad iħrah yaa barra*

QA / AD / he.goes<sup>A</sup> / to / outside  
'beware that he goes out!'

This is not the only possible interpretation, compare:

*qa a traħed!*

QA / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>A</sup>  
'don't go!'

*qa a traħed a t-taħed dinni*

QA / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>A</sup> / AD / him<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.find<sup>A</sup> / there  
'you will go, and find him there'

As mentioned before the combination of *qa* + progressive imperfect is very frequent.

*baba qa yegħħua-d*

my.father / QA / he.comes<sup>l</sup>-hither  
'my father is coming'

It is possible to stress the present relevance of a habitual event by means of *qa*. This is not very frequent though, e.g.

*qa yetseħħħaa-aney*

QA / he.disturbs<sup>l</sup>-us<sup>00</sup>

'he always disturbs (I) us (and that makes me take action)'

As mentioned above the Perfective can have a dynamic and a stative interpretation. When preceded by *qa*, the past reading of the dynamic Perfective leads to a "past with present relevance" reading, which is similar to the English Perfect, e.g.

*qa ieemmaq ayarras waman*

QA / he.filled<sup>P</sup> / jug<sup>FS</sup> / with / water<sup>AS</sup>

'he has filled [*qa P*] the jug with water'

*qa yenna-am užedžid*

QA / he.said<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / king<sup>AS</sup>

'the king has told [*qa P*] you...'

The stative reading of the Perfective can also be combined with *qa*. In that case, the described state is shown to be highly relevant to the present situation. Thus the sentence *Mrič tudes* 'Melilla is nearby', without *qa*, is likely to be given as a

statement about general geography, e.g., in answer to a question by somebody sitting in a café in Nador, and wondering how far away the Spanish enclave is. Compare the same sentence with *qa*:

*Mřič qa tudes*

Melilla / QA / she.is.close<sup>P</sup>  
'Melilla is close'

In this sentence, the closeness of Melilla is relevant to the present situation of the speaker. One likely context would be an answer by a taxi driver to somebody who is travelling to Melilla. The closeness of Melilla is not only an interesting fact, but has immediate consequences for the participants in the conversation.

*Qa* also appears in non-verbal sentences (see 13.5). In that case it is often combined with direct object pronouns. *Qa* is extremely common in non-verbal sentences expressing location (where it is quasi-obligatory), but also appears in attributive constructions (see 13.5). The particle *qa* can be combined with other preverbal particles, such as *waa* 'negation', *tuya* 'past', and *ad* 'non-realized', e.g.

*tamža qa waa ttwiři, třam*

gress / QA / not / she.sees<sup>Ni</sup> / obscurity

'the ogress could not see [this explains the situation and is thus immediately relevant to the hearer], it was dark'

*qa waa ssiney ša*

QA / not / I.know<sup>Ni</sup> / not  
'I (really) don't know'

*qa tuya-yen yaam*

QA / PAST-them<sup>DO</sup> / at.you<sup>FSG</sup>

'you used to have them (lit. there used to be them with you)'

*Qa* can be placed immediately before the verbal complex, or in sentence-initial position. It is also possible to have it twice (as long as the two *qa*'s are separated by an other word), once sentence-initial, once preverbal. Examples:

*neššin qa neteřiš di hulanda*

we / QA / we.live<sup>i</sup> / in / Netherlands

'we, (qa) we live in the Netherlands'

*qa azyen uženna yewđa-d*

QA / half<sup>FS</sup> / [of] / sky<sup>A5</sup> / he.fell<sup>P</sup>-hither

'(qa) half of heavens has fallen down'

*qa isennanen-ni qa t̥eđu*

QA / thorns-that / QA / she.passed<sup>P</sup>

'(qa) concerning these thorns, (qa) she has just passed (them)'

The particle *qa* cannot be used in subordinate clauses, nor does it appear in constructions such as question word questions and clefts.

### 13.4.2 *tuya* 'past'

The element *tuya* puts the time reference of the sentence at a moment before the time point which is the ground for the statement. If this is the moment of speaking, *tuya* expresses a simple past; if the context already refers to the past, *tuya* marks the pluperfect, e.g.

*zzman tuya t<sup>n</sup>ayen n d<sup>n</sup>uru tsekk<sup>w</sup>a*

formerly / PAST / two / of / douro / she.costs<sup>!</sup>

'in former times, a dirham (lit. two douro) used to be worth a lot'

*itq<sup>h</sup> yaa tuatut-enni tuya yarra*

he.goes<sup>!</sup> / to / fig.tree-that / PAST / he.planted<sup>p</sup>

'he used to go to the fig tree that he had planted (before)' (in this narrative, the basic time reference is the past; *tuya* functions as a pluperfect)

*Tuya* also occurs in non-verbal sentences, where it refers to a past state. In this construction it is often combined with a direct object pronoun (see 8.2; 13.5), e.g.

*tuya-<sup>f</sup> d amedduke<sup>ř</sup> inu*

PAST-him<sup>DO</sup> / PRED / friend<sup>TS</sup> / my

'he used to be my friend (but he no more is, e.g., because he died)'

*tuya-ayi di taddaat*

PAST-me<sup>DO</sup> / in / house

'I was at home'

In verbal sentences, *tuya* immediately precedes the verbal complex. Any topicalized element comes before *tuya*, e.g.

*tinin, tuya ssweždent sekstu*

those<sup>F</sup> / PAST / they<sup>F</sup> prepared<sup>P</sup> / couscous

'those (women), (*tuya*) they had prepared couscous'

Different from *qa*, there is no objection to using *tuya* in subordinate clauses and similar constructions. When accompanied by a direct object pronoun, the pronoun may undergo clitic fronting where appropriate. Examples:

*maelik š-tuya d uma...*

if / you<sup>MSGDO-PAST</sup> / PRED / my.brother

'if you had been my brother...'

*mani š-tuya ?*

where / you<sup>MSGDO-PAST</sup>

'where were you ?'

*xzaq mameš day-tuya yeqqaa*

look!<sup>A</sup> / how / us<sup>IO-PAST</sup> / he.says<sup>!</sup>

'look what he used to say to us!'

When cooccurring with a negated verb, *tuya* precedes the negative particle *waa*, e.g.

*tuya waa yessin*

PAST / not / he.knows<sup>NP</sup>

'he didn't know'

### 13.5 'Be'-constructions

There are different constructions that can be translated with the verb 'to be' in English. The first type is the non-verbal sentence, the second type is a verbal construction with the verb *iři* 'to be'. The two constructions are in complementary distribution, according to aspect and syntax. There are some differences between attributive (type: 'he is a man') and locative (type 'he is at home') constructions, but they do not concern the basic tenets of the structure, nor do they involve different verbs.

The non-verbal construction consists minimally of a predicate, which may or may not be accompanied by a subject. The form of the predicate depends on word class: when the predicate is a noun (incl. adjectives) or a pronoun, it is preceded by a special predicative particle, *d*, e.g.

*d nes̥* 'it's me'  
PRED / I

*netta d amežzyan nsen* 'he is the youngest of them'  
he / PRED / small<sup>MSGFS</sup> / their

*aayaz nnes d lmalik* 'her husband is the king'  
man<sup>FS</sup> / her / PRED / king

According to regular assimilations, when followed by a noun starting in *t*, they form an amalgam *tt*, e.g.

*t tamyaat < d tamyaat* 'it is a woman'

Different from its homonym *d*, used for coordinating nouns (see 9.1.14), predicative *d* is followed by the Free State, cf. the difference between the two following phrases:

*netta d adbib* 'he is a doctor' (*adbib* is Free State)  
he / PRED / doctor<sup>FS</sup>

*netta d wedbib* 'he and the doctor' (*wedbib* is Annexed State)  
he / and / doctor<sup>AS</sup>

When the predicate is a prepositional phrase or an adverb, *d* is not used, e.g.

*qa din ispunya* 'there are Spaniards there'  
QA / there / Spanish<sup>MPL</sup>

*wanita nnes* 'this here is his'  
this.one<sup>M</sup> / his

Possessive constructions are constructed by means of a prepositional phrase with *yaa* 'at' (for more information, see below), e.g.

*yar-i ižzen ttumubin* 'I have a car'  
at-me / one / car

The non-verbal construction encodes a state, and in its neutral interpretation it refers to the present. As such, it corresponds to the stative interpretation of the Perfective in verbs.

In the verbal construction the verb *iři* (P: *dža*, I: *tiři*) appears. Like a small number of other copular verbs (esp. *dweř* 'to become'), it is followed by a predicate (see chapter 16), e.g.

<i>iři d aayaz</i>	'be a man!'
<i>bel<sup>A</sup> / PRED / man<sup>FS</sup></i>	

The verbal construction appears in a number of contexts. In the first place it is found in contexts where the Aorist and the Imperfective are used, e.g.

<i>ad yiři d aayaz</i>	'he will be a man' ( <i>ad</i> + Aorist)
<i>AD / he.is<sup>A</sup> / PRED / man<sup>FS</sup></i>	

<i>tiřiy di tanža</i>	'I live (lit. I am always) in Tangier'
<i>Lam<sup>I</sup> / in / Tangier</i>	

In the second place, the verbal construction is used in relative clauses and related constructions, such as question word questions and clefts, e.g.

<i>ayaz-enni yedžan d uma-s</i>	
<i>man<sup>FS</sup>-that / being<sup>P</sup> / PRED / brother-his</i>	
'the man who is his brother'	

<i>mani ţedža Třayetmas?</i>	
<i>where / she.is<sup>P</sup> / Tlaytmas</i>	
'where is Tlaytmas?'	

<i>qa d nešš i yedžan d Yusef</i>	
<i>QA / PRED / I / that / being<sup>P</sup> / PRED / Yousef.</i>	
'it is me who is Yousef'	

In relative clauses where the head relates to a prepositional phrase, the 'be'-verb is clipped to an invariable particle *dža* (in negations: *dži*), e.g.

<i>řhiđ i di dža pintura</i>	
<i>wall / that / in / be / paint</i>	
'the wall on which there is paint'	

<i>řhiđ i di dža řkwaži</i>	
<i>wall / that / in / be / windows</i>	
'the wall in which there are windows'	

The verbal construction is also used for expressing existence, e.g.

<i>Ulah yedža</i>	'God exists'
<i>God / he.is<sup>P</sup></i>	

Both verbal and non-verbal 'be'-constructions often occur with the element *qa* 'present relevance'. In non-verbal sentences with a pronominal subject, *qa* is normally combined with a direct object pronominal clitic, which refers to the subject. There is a major difference here between attributive and possessive constructions on the one hand, and locative constructions on the other. When attributive or possessive sentences have *qa*, the particle expresses the relevance of the described state for the people involved in the conversation. Compare the two following sentences:

*šem t tameżzyant*  
 you<sup>F:SG</sup> / PRED / small<sup>F:SG;FS</sup>  
 'you are young'

*qa-šem t tameżzyant*  
 QA-you<sup>F:SG;DO</sup> / PRED / small<sup>F:SG;FS</sup>  
 'you are young'

The first sentence is a simple description of the person that is addressed; her young age does not have many implications at the moment of speaking. The second sentence could be uttered when a father is answering his young daughter's request to be allowed to do something for which she is still too young. In this context, the young age of the girl is immediately relevant to the present, as it explains the father's refusal.

With locative expressions, on the other hand, using *qa* is the unmarked choice, e.g.

*uma-s qa-t di taddaqt*  
 brother-his / QA-him<sup>DO</sup> / in / house  
 'his brother is at home'

*qa da iżż iyeyd*  
 QA / here / one / kid  
 'there is a goat kid here'

It is marginally possible to have locatives without *qa*. In that case the irrelevance to the present is stressed; thus when a child is asked by his teacher about his homework on the political status of Melilla, he may answer:

*Mrič, dayes ispunya*  
 Melilla / in.it / Spanish<sup>M:PL</sup>  
 'Melilla, there are the Spaniards in it'

In this example *qa* can be omitted because the content is completely irrelevant for the present situation. Similarly, by saying *Mrič din uma*, 'in Melilla is my brother', without *qa*, the implication is lack of real interest in the brother – one could have such a sentence for example when talking about Melilla, and off-hand mentioning that there is a brother living over there; when the position of the brother is deemed an interesting fact in itself (and not just an interesting detail about Melilla), one should use *qa*, i.e. *Mrič qa din uma*.

Possessive constructions with *yaa* have some special characteristics. In the first place, it is impossible to have *yaa* followed by a full noun in a possessive construction. The possessor can only be expressed lexically by means of topicalization. This is different from the usage of *yaa* as a locative marker ('at'), cf. the difference between the two following sentences:

*iruh yaa baba*                    'he went to my father' (*yaa* is not possessive)  
 he.went<sup>P</sup> / at / my.father

*baba, yaa-s ttmenyat*                    'my father has money' (*yaa* is possessive)  
 my.father / at.him / money

*yar-i iżzen t̄tumubin* 'I have a car'  
 at-me / one / car

A sentence like \*\**yaa baba ttmenyať* is ungrammatical.

In possessor relatives (i.e. a construction where the head functions as the possessor in the relative clause), the same construction is used as with other prepositional relatives, featuring the clipped element *dža*, e.g.

*taħenžiať i yaa dža umeddukeř*  
 girl<sup>FS</sup> / that / at / be / friend<sup>AS</sup>  
 'a girl that has a boyfriend'

*taħenžiať i yaa dža imeddukař*  
 girl<sup>FS</sup> / that / at / be / friends.  
 'a girl that has (male) friends'

*taħenžiať i waa yaa dži yemma-s*  
 girl<sup>FS</sup> / that / not / to / be<sup>NEG</sup> / mother-her  
 'a girl that does not have a mother'

With the interrogative pronoun *wi* 'who' and *min* 'what', a further possessive construction is used. In this construction, a special participial form *yirān* appears. This is not a regular form of the verb *iři* 'to be' – the regular Perfective form is *yedžan*. In fact, *yirān* is probably the last remnant of a different verb, meaning 'to possess', which is attested in other Berber languages, e.g.

*wi yirān t̄tumubin-a* 'whose car is this? (lit. who possesses this car)'  
 who / having<sup>P</sup> / car-this

*wi t-yirān* 'whose is it? (lit. who possesses it)'  
 who / it<sup>FDO</sup>-having<sup>P</sup>

*wi š-yirān* 'whose (child) are you?, who is your father?'  
 who / you<sup>MSGDO</sup>-having<sup>P</sup>

*min t-yirān, t̄ayarrabut-a* 'what kind of boat is it (esp. what is it made of)'  
 what / it<sup>FDO</sup>-having<sup>P</sup> / boat<sup>FS</sup>-this

Similative stative constructions ('to be like') use the verb *gg* 'to do, to make', e.g.

*yegga am wayrad*  
 he.did<sup>P</sup> / like / lion<sup>AS</sup>  
 'he is like a lion'

### 13.6 Negation

Negation is marked by several means, which can be combined:

1. The preverbal markers *waa* and *wiř*
2. The choice of a negative stem form of the verb (except in prohibitives)
3. The use of the particle *bu*
4. The use of a post-verbal negative particle (neutral: *ša*)

### 13.6.1 The preverbal negative particles

The preverbal marker *wiř* ~ *wi* is only used in prohibitives; it is also possible to use *waa* in this context. Irrespective of the choice of the particle, the verb is in the (positive!) Imperfective form, e.g.

<i>wiř ssawař</i>	= <i>waa ssawař</i>	'don't speak! (I)'
cf. <i>waa issiwiř ša</i>		'he does not speak (NI)'

In all other contexts, only *waa* is used, followed by a Negative Perfective or by a Negative Imperfective (on *ma* in negative clauses, see 13.6.5).

### 13.6.2 The negative stem forms of the verb and negation of non-verbal sentences

The use of the negative stems corresponds to positive constructions in the following manner:

Positive	Negative
Imperative	<i>waa/wiř</i> + (positive) Imperfective imperative
<i>ad</i> + Aorist	<i>waa</i> + Negative Imperfective
Imperfective	<i>waa</i> + Negative Imperfective
Perfective	<i>waa</i> + Negative Perfective

In the negation of non-verbal sentences, two structures are found. In the first structure, the predicate is negated by means of the particle *waadži*.<sup>27</sup> This is the case when the predicate is not a prepositional phrase with a pronoun. In addition, *waadži* can be used when the preposition in question is *n* 'of', e.g.

*šem waadži bu d yemma*  
*you<sup>PSG</sup>* / is.not / not / PRED / my.mother  
 'you are not my mother'

*ma waadži t taddaąt n ša n yižzen?*  
*q* / is.not / PRED / house / of / some / of / one<sup>AS</sup>  
 'isn't it the house of somebody?'

*inin, ibawen waadži bu nmes*  
*those<sup>M</sup>* / beans / is.not / not / her  
 'those, the beans, they were not hers'

*waadži bu amenni*  
 is.not / not / like.that  
 'it is not like that'

When the predicate is a preposition with a pronominal suffix, *waa* stands before the prepositional phrase, e.g.

*waa dayes walu*  
 not / in.it / nothing  
 'there was nothing in it'

<sup>27</sup> This particle is derived from the negation *waa* and a perfective form of the verb 'to be'. It is also possible to use full verbal forms (i.e. *waa tedžid bu d yemma*) and forms which lack the subject prefix, but maintain the suffix (i.e. *waa-džid bu d yemma*).

*qa waa yaas bu iqaañ*

QA / not / at.her / not / legs

'she does not have legs (lit. there is not with her legs)'

### 13.6.3 The postverbal negative element *bu*

Most Tarifiyt sentences have a postverbal negative element in addition to the preverbal negator. There are two types, which always immediately follow the verbal complex. The first type consists of the element *bu*, followed by a direct object or a predicate. In the second type other postverbal negators are used. These may be sentence-final.

When a verb has a lexical direct object, it is possible, but not obligatory, to use the particle *bu* before the direct object; a noun following *bu* takes the Annexed State, e.g.

*waa das-teggen bu wexxam*

not / him<sup>10</sup>-they.do<sup>N1</sup> / not / house<sup>A5</sup>

'they will not make a house for him'

*waa dasen-isexsaa bu የxadqaa*

not / them<sup>M<sub>10</sub></sup>-he.spoiled<sup>N<sub>1</sub></sup> / not / mood

'he did not spoil (*bu*) their mood'

*waa tezrid bu baba-tney?*

not / you<sup>SG</sup>.saw<sup>N<sub>1</sub></sup> / not / father-our

'didn't you see (*bu*) our father?'

It is not easy to define the difference between negations with and without *bu*. Phrases with *bu* may be more emphatic than phrases without *bu*. In negations of attributive non-verbal sentences, *bu* is facultatively present before the predicate clause, e.g.

*aqzin-enni waadži bu d aqzin*

dog<sup>F5</sup>-that / is.not / not / PRED / dog<sup>A5</sup>

'that dog wasn't a (real) dog'

It also sometimes appears before a verbal predicate, e.g.

*waa dawem bu tyennžey*

not / for.you<sup>M<sub>10</sub>PLDO</sup> / not / I.sing<sup>N1</sup>

'I'm not singing to you'

It is obligatory in some constructions, such as the examples below:

*waa yaas bu temyaat*

not / at.him / not / woman<sup>A5</sup>

'he doesn't have a wife'

*waa dinni bu የfaaq qae*

not / there / not / difference / entirely

'there is no difference in that'

It is not possible to combine *bu* with the neutral postverbal negation *ša* or other postverbal negations.

### 13.6.4 Other postverbal negative elements

The most common post-verbal negator is *ša*, which, like French *pas*, functions with simple negations, e.g.

waa ssiney *ša*  
not / I.know<sup>NP</sup> / not  
'I don't know'

waa t-yufi *ša* *dinni*  
not / her<sup>DO</sup>-he.found<sup>NP</sup> / not / there  
'he did not find her there'

waa *tgeeeeed* *ša* x *wuatu*  
not / she.climbed<sup>NP</sup> / not / on / fig.tree<sup>AS</sup>  
'she did not climb on the fig tree'

nešš waa t-tiwyey *ša*  
I / not / her<sup>DO</sup>-I.marry<sup>NI</sup> / not  
'I am not going to marry her'

waa *tewši* *ša* *ayi-nni*  
not / she.gave<sup>NP</sup> / not / milk<sup>FS</sup>-that  
'she had not given that milk'

wenni waa *yaas* *ša*  
that.one<sup>M</sup> / not / at.him / not  
'that one, he hadn't (anything)'

The element *ša* is absent in a number of situations, the most important of which will be enumerated below (cf. Lafkioui 1996):

1. When another postverbal negative element is present, such as *bu* (see above).
2. When two negative phrases or one positive and one negative phrase occur in a kind of coordination, e.g.

waa ššin waa swin  
not / they.ate<sup>NP</sup> / not / they.drank<sup>NP</sup>  
'they did not eat or drink'

ššiy waa žžiwney  
Late<sup>P</sup> / not / I.got.satiated<sup>NP</sup>  
'I ate, but I was not satiated'

3. When the negation is followed by the head of a relative clause, e.g.

waa *tufi* wi *das-d-ižemmeeen* *qrrud*  
not / she.found<sup>NP</sup> / who / her<sup>DO</sup>-hither-gathering<sup>I</sup>/ clothes<sup>FS</sup>  
'she did not find (somebody) who would (regularly) collect the clothes for her'

In many other contexts, both sentences with and without *ša* are possible. The exact differences in meaning are not clear, e.g.

waa *tegg<sup>wed</sup>*  
waa *tegg<sup>wed</sup> ša*

'don't be afraid'  
'don't be afraid'

In addition to *ša* and *bu*, there are several other post-verbal negative elements, most important of which are:

waa ... *hedd* 'nobody'

waa *t-yezri hedd*  
not / him<sup>DO</sup>-he.saw<sup>NP</sup> / anybody  
'nobody saw him'

waa ... *walu* 'nothing'

waa *das-nnín walu*  
not / him<sup>IO</sup>-they.said<sup>NP</sup> / nothing  
'they did not say anything to him'

waa ... *uřa d* ... 'not even'

waa *yari uřa d ižzen*  
not / at.me / even / PRED / one<sup>M</sup>  
'I don't have anybody (lit. not even somebody is with me)'

waa ... *yia ~ waa ... yaa* 'not ... but, only'

waa *itíři yia di řxađaŋ nwem*  
not / it<sup>M</sup>.is<sup>I</sup> / only / in / mood / you<sup>M:PL</sup>  
'it will only be as you wish (lit. it will not be but as your wish)'

waa ... *řa ... řa* 'neither ... nor'

waa *yaawem řa yemma-řwem řa eenti-řwem*  
not / at.you<sup>M:PL</sup> / neither / mother-your<sup>M:PL</sup> / neither / aunt-your<sup>M:PL</sup>  
'you have neither a mother nor a paternal aunt'

### 13.6.5 Negative constructions with *ma*

In addition to the negative structures described above, there is a negative construction using the element *ma*. This is mainly found in contexts of strong assertion, such as oaths, e.g.

*welleh ma yaas řheqq*  
by.God / not / at.him / right  
'by God,<sup>28</sup> he is not right!'

*ahhq-řarrebbi ma d nešš*  
truth.of.the.Lord / not / PRED / I  
'by the Truth of God, it is not me'

The positive counterpart of such constructions has the conjunction *ħama ~ hima ~ huma* 'so that', e.g.

<sup>28</sup> Even though *welleh* is part of an oath formula, it can also express strong assertion without a strictly religious connotation.

*a welleh ḥuma ššiy-<sup>t</sup>*  
 o / by.God / in.order / Late<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup>  
 'I shall certainly eat it!'

*welleh ma ššiy-<sup>t</sup>*  
 by.God / not / Late<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup>  
 'I have absolutely not eaten it'

*Ma* is also regularly found in combination with *eeemmaqas* 'never', which, however, can also be combined with *waa*, e.g.

*eeemmaqas ma yus-ed*  
 never / not / he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither  
 'he has never come'

*eeemmaqas waa d-yusi*  
 never / not / hither-he.came<sup>NP</sup>  
 'he has never come'

A special construction involving *ma* is found with the verb *aḥeř* 'to get tired, to get fed up with, to try without result'. When followed by a second verb, the two verbs are linked by means of *ma*, e.g.

*uša yuḥeř ma ad yeṣbaq*  
 then / he.got.tired<sup>P</sup> / not / AD / he.is.patient<sup>A</sup>  
 'then he got fed up with waiting'

*yuḥeř wuššen ma ad yefhem*  
 he.got.tired<sup>P</sup> / jackal<sup>A5</sup> / not / AD / he.understands<sup>A</sup>  
 'Jackal tried in vain to understand'

## 14. Sentence structure

### 14.1 General outline of sentence structure

The minimal structure of a sentence is a verb in the case of a verbal sentence and a non-verbal predicate in the case of a non-verbal sentence.

In non-verbal sentences, the predicate is marked by means of the element *d* when the predicate is a noun or a pronoun. When the predicate is a prepositional phrase or an adverb, there is no predicate marker, e.g.

<i>d uma</i>	'it is my brother'
<i>d nešš</i>	'it is me'
<i>inu</i>	'it is mine (lit. of me)'
<i>n yemma</i>	'it is my mother's (lit. of my mother)'
<i>ammu</i>	'it is like this'

Subjects normally precede the predicate, e.g.

<i>netta d uma</i>	'he is my brother'
<i>nešš ammu</i>	'I am like this'

When the non-verbal sentence is preceded by *qa* 'present relevance' or *tuya* 'past', the subject is often expressed by a direct object suffix following *qa*, resp. *tuya*, e.g.

<i>qa-t di tadaat</i>	'he is home'
<i>QA-him<sup>DO</sup> / in / house</i>	
<i>tuya-ayi d amehdāa</i>	'I used to be a student'
<i>PAST-me<sup>DO</sup> / PRED / student<sup>FS</sup></i>	

In verbal sentences, there is at least a verb; it is not necessary to have a lexical subject, e.g.

<i>yus-d</i>	'he has arrived'
<i>he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither</i>	

The core of a verbal sentence has the following structure:

(*qa/tuya*) Verb – (Subject) – (Direct Object) – (Prepositional Phrases/Adverbs)

<i>qa yewša baba ttmenyač i Mimun</i>
<i>QA / he.gave<sup>P</sup> / my.father / money / to / Mimoun</i>
<i>'my father has given money to Mimoun'</i>

The place of adverbial phrases is somewhat variable, and they sometimes occur between the verb and the lexical subject or object, e.g.

<i>yeebqa xaney nhar-a yinsi</i>
<i>he.fooled<sup>P</sup> / on.us / day-this / hedgehog<sup>AS</sup></i>
<i>'Hedgehog has fooled us today (nhar-a)'</i>

*yiwi-d arrebbi nhār-a tyāṣiṭ*  
 he.brought<sup>P</sup>-hither / Lord / day-this / chicken  
 'the Lord has brought (us) today a chicken'

Free pronouns only occur in the core when they refer to the subject, or when they are embedded in a prepositional phrase. Subject pronouns in the core are not extremely frequent, probably because the emphasis automatically attached to the use of a free pronoun makes them logical candidates for topicalization or focalization (see below), e.g.

*yeqqim netta dinni itenned itenneq*  
 he.stayed<sup>P</sup> / he / there / he.turns<sup>I</sup> / he.turns<sup>I</sup>  
 'he (netta) stayed there and turned and turned'

*tamyāat-enni nneyni, teṣṣa nettat tayaṣṣiṭ-enni*  
 woman<sup>FS</sup>-that / other / she.ate<sup>P</sup> / she / hare<sup>FS</sup>-that  
 'as for the other woman, she (nettat) ate the hare'

While possible, the presence of all elements in one single core is not very frequent; normally, there is either pronominalization of at least one of the elements, or topicalization (see below), or both.

## 14.2 Topicalization

All non-verbal elements in a sentence can be put in sentence-initial position. In such a case, they mark the topic of the sentence, i.e., they tell what the sentence is about. There is pronominal reference to the topic in the core part of the sentence (except for adverbs). The topic stands in the Free State. When the topicalized element functions as the subject of the sentence, there may or may not be an intonational break (comma intonation) between the topic and the core (Lafkioui 2011: 119ff.); when it is another element, comma intonation is obligatory.

*neṣṣ(,) wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima*  
 I / I.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / address / my / to / Fatima  
 'as for me, I gave my address to Fatima'

*landris inu, wšiy-as-<sub>t</sub> i Faṭima*  
 address / my / I.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup> / to / Fatima  
 'as for my address, I gave it to Fatima'

*Faṭima, wšiy-as landris inu*  
 Fatima / I.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / address / my  
 'as for Fatima, I gave her my address'

*nhār-a, wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima*  
 day-this / I.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / address / my / to / Fatima  
 'today I gave my address to Fatima'

*lkitab-a, dayes landris n Faṭima*  
 book-this / in.it / address / of / Fatima  
 'as for this book, the address of Fatima is in it'

*netta, min yexdem wušen?*  
 he / what / he.worked<sup>P</sup> / jackal<sup>AS</sup>  
 'as for him, what did the jackal do?'

*nettat qa-t t taħenžiat*  
 she / QA-her<sup>DO</sup> / PRED / girl<sup>FS</sup>  
 'as for her, she is a girl'

Topicalization is obligatory in possessive phrases with *yaa* when the possessor is expressed by a noun, e.g.

*ħamyaat-enni yaas iżżeen mmi-s*  
 woman<sup>FS</sup>-that / at.her / one / son-her  
 'this woman has a son (lit. this woman, with her is a son of hers)'

It is possible to have several topicalized elements in one sentence, e.g.

*nhar-a, nešš wšiy-as landris inu i Faṭima*  
 day-this / I / I.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / address / my / to / Fatima  
 'today, as for me, I gave my address to Fatima'

*nešš, yemma waa yari ša*  
 I / my.mother / not / at.me / not  
 'as for me, I don't have a mother'

It is quite common to have topicalization with a full pronoun immediately followed by a lexical topic, e.g.

*netta mušš, yeqqim ifetteh*  
 he / cat<sup>FS</sup> / he.stayed<sup>P</sup> / he.swims<sup>I</sup>  
 'he, the cat, started to swim'

The element *qa* 'present relevance' can occur before the topicalized element; it can also stand immediately before the core of the sentence, e.g.

*qa tisinaf waa das-ggint walu*  
 QA / needles<sup>FS</sup> / not / him<sup>IO</sup>-they<sup>F</sup>.do<sup>NP</sup> / nothing  
 '(qa) as for the needles, they didn't hurt her at all'

*qa nešš waa zemmaay*  
 QA / I / not / I.can<sup>NI</sup>  
 '(qa) as for me, I can't (or: as for me, I am sick)'

*nešš qa a šemm-awyey*  
 I / QA / AD / you<sup>FSG.DO</sup>-I.bring<sup>A</sup>  
 'as for me, (qa) I shall marry you'

In non-verbal sentences, *qa* can come both before and after the subject of the non-verbal sentence, e.g.

*qa nešš d eenti-twem*  
 QA / I / PRED / aunt-your<sup>MPL</sup>  
 'I am your aunt'

*nešš qa d eenti-twem*  
 I / QA / PRED / aunt-your<sup>MPL</sup>  
 'as for me, I am your aunt'

### 14.3 Post-topic

In addition to normal topicalization, which concerns the initial position of the sentence, it is possible to have elements put after the core. This will be called a post-topic. The post-topic comes after the core of the sentence. Its exact function is not clear. Post-topics with full pronouns are quite frequent; post-topics with a noun are much less frequent, and seem to be mainly found in non-verbal sentences. Such nouns take the Annexed State,<sup>29</sup> e.g.

mařa waa ffijent ad ffjey nešš  
if / not / they<sup>f</sup>.exit<sup>NP</sup> / AD / I.exit<sup>A</sup> / I  
'if they don't go out, I will go out, me'

d asemمام, uyi-ya  
PRED / sourMSGTS / milkAS-this  
'it is sour, this milk (Annexed State of axi)

*qa d ahenžia, win*  
QA / PRED / boy<sup>FS</sup> / that.one<sup>M</sup>  
'it is a boy, that one over there'

*řebda dayes tähraymest, netta*  
always / in.him / cunningness<sup>15</sup> / he  
'he is always cunning, he (lit. there is always cunningness in him, he)'

The following common expression always has the post-topic meaning.

d wenni netta  
PRED / that.one<sup>M</sup> / he  
'that's the way it is; o.k.'

It is possible to have a topic and a post-topic in one sentence, e.g.

*tenni qa iwyex-t, nešš*  
that.one<sup>F</sup> / QA / I.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / I  
'that one, I am married to her, me'

With Imperatives, one can also have a post-topic, e.g.

*hwa šekk* / *you*<sup>MSG</sup> 'you go down!

#### 14.4 Focalization: cleft sentences

Focus (new information in the sentence) can be expressed by means of a cleft sentence. Cleft sentences consist of a subjectless non-verbal sentence, followed by a relative clause (see 15.3), which is always linked to it by means of the relative particle *i*. The first part of the cleft can take the form of any non-verbal predicate. It can be *d* + noun/pronoun, but prepositional phrases and adverbs can also be clefted. Different from normal non-verbal predicates, the

<sup>29</sup> We do not know of cases where a noun occurs in post-topic position after the core of a verbal sentence, and are therefore not sure about the State of the noun in this position.

predicative particle *d* is not obligatory in the first part of the cleft sentence. Examples:

(d) *šemmi i t-yeryin*  
 (PRED) / you<sup>FSG</sup> / that / her<sup>DO</sup>-killing<sup>P</sup>  
 'it is you who killed her'

(d) *řqađi i xam ya ihekmen*  
 (PRED) / judge / that / on.you<sup>FSG</sup> / AD / judging<sup>P</sup>  
 'it is the judge who is going to judge you'

*zzayes i tettaay*  
 with.it / that / I.beg<sup>l</sup>  
 'it is using this (a drum) that I beg'

*ammu i dayi-yegga yinsi*  
 like.this / that / me<sup>IO</sup>-he.did<sup>P</sup> / hedgehog<sup>AS</sup>  
 'it is like this that Hedgehog has done to me'

The first part of the cleft can be negated, e.g.

*waadži bu d nešš i ſen-d-ižemeen*  
 is.not / not / PRED / I / that / them<sup>M</sup>-hither-gathering<sup>P</sup>  
 'it is not me who put them together'

*waadži amenni i das-tennid ?*  
 is.not / like.that / that / him<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>  
 'isn't it like that that you told him?'

The cleft sentence can be preceded by a topicalized element, e.g.

*nešš, imendi, nešš i t ya yešsin*  
 I / grain / I / that / it<sup>MDO</sup> / AD / taking<sup>A</sup>  
 'as for me, the grain, it is me who is going to take it'

The cleft sentence can be preceded by *qa* 'present relevance' and *tuya* 'past', e.g.

*qa d nešš i yedžan d lmalik*  
 QA / PRED / I / that / being<sup>P</sup> / PRED / king  
 'it is me who is the king'

*tuya d šekk i t-ieedřen ?*  
 PAST / PRED / you<sup>MSG</sup> / that / it<sup>MDO</sup>-repairing<sup>P</sup> .  
 'was it you who repaired it?'

## 15. Relative clauses and related constructions

There are two types of relative clauses, with different syntax: those that have a definite head, and those that have an indefinite head. Definite heads are often – but not always – marked by means of a deictic clitic, mostly *-enni*. Indefinite heads often – but not always – have a marker of indefiniteness, such as *iżżeń* 'a, one' or *ša* 'some, a certain'. When definiteness is not explicitly marked in the head, only the type of relative construction permits one to recognize it. The difference between definite and indefinite relative clauses is similar to that between definite and indefinite adjectival constructions (see 11.2).

### 15.1 Indefinite relatives

Relative clauses with indefinite heads do not have specific marking of the relative clause. They are simply juxtaposed to the head. The verb has normal inflection, and the participial form is not allowed. There is pronominal reference to the head in the relative clause (in the following examples, the relative clause is between square brackets) e.g.

*qa yewt̪-ayi iżżeń sseyyed* [ušaay-as aysum]  
QA / he.hit<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / one / gentleman / I.stole<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / meat<sup>RS</sup>  
'a gentleman from whom I had stolen meat has beaten me'

*din iżżeń tqedduħt* [dayes ŋħrua]  
there / one / tin.box<sup>AS</sup> / in.it / condiments  
'there was there a tin box that had condiments in it'

*iwden yaa iżżeń tħaddaq* [texħra]  
they<sup>M</sup>.arrived<sup>P</sup> / at / one / house / it<sup>F</sup>.is.deserted<sup>P</sup>  
'they arrived at a house that was deserted'

### 15.2 Definite relatives

Relative clauses with definite heads are characterized by the following features:

- the relative clause has no pronominal reference to the head
- in subject relatives the so-called participle is used (see 4.1)
- there is clitic fronting, and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad* 'non-realized' is used (see 7.1.1)
- in prepositional relatives, the preposition (without pronominal suffix) is put in the position immediately following the relative marker *i*.
- the relative marker *i* is used in all non-subject relatives, except indirect object relatives. It is facultative for subject relatives.
- in indirect object relatives there is a relative marker *umi*.

For relative clauses based on non-verbal sentences, see 13.5.

### 15.2.1 Subject relatives

Subject relatives are relative clauses where the head functions as the subject of the relative clause. Subject relatives are different from other relative clauses because the verb takes participial inflection.

*marra የይባር-አ [yeffyen] a d-yeeqeb da eawed*

all / dung-this / exiting<sup>P</sup> / AD / hither-he.returns<sup>A</sup> / here / again

'all this dung which has gone out (been spread over the land) should be taken back'

*aayaz-enni [d ya yasen] d Mimun*

man<sup>PS</sup>-that / hither / AD / coming<sup>A</sup> / PRED / Mimoun

'the man that is going to come is Mimoun'

*wenni [ixeddmen የበዳ] ad yedweř d tažaq*

that.one<sup>M</sup> / working<sup>I</sup> / always / AD / he.becomes<sup>A</sup> / PRED / rich.person

'he who works all the time shall become rich'

*wenni [waa ixeddmen ša] ad yeqqim d የመስክין*

that.one<sup>M</sup> / not / working<sup>NI</sup> / not / AD / he.stays<sup>A</sup> / PRED / poor.person

'he who doesn't work will remain poor'

Subject relatives can be linked to the relative clause by the relative marker *i*, but this is not obligatory, cf.

*aayaz [i das-yewšin ttmenyat] d tažaq*

= *aayaz [das-yewšin ttmenyat] d tažaq*

man<sup>PS</sup> / (that) / him<sup>IO</sup>-giving<sup>P</sup> / money / PRED / rich.person

'the man who gave him the money is rich'

### 15.2.2 Direct object relatives

Direct object relatives obligatorily have the relative particle *i*. Apart from this, the main difference with non-relatives are clitic fronting and the use of *ya* as the allomorph of *ad*, e.g.

*xedžṣey s ttmenyat [i dayi-yewša babā]*

I.payed<sup>P</sup> / with / money / that / me<sup>IO</sup>-he.gave<sup>P</sup> / my.father

'I payed with the money that my father had given me'

### 15.2.3 Indirect object relatives

Indirect object relatives use the linker *umi*, e.g.

*tenni [umi ya yegg tigges] yessexsar-it*

the.one<sup>I</sup> / to.whom / AD / he.does<sup>A</sup> / tattoo / he.spoils<sup>I</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup>

'each one to whom he made a tattoo, he spoiled her'

*aayaz [umi t-wšy] d amedduker inu*

man<sup>PS</sup> / to.whom / it<sup>DO</sup>-I.gave<sup>P</sup> / PRED / friend<sup>AS</sup> / my

'the man to whom I gave it is my friend'

### 15.2.4 Prepositional relatives

Relative clauses in which the head functions as part of a prepositional phrase always have the relative marker *i*. The preposition has no pronominal suffix and follows *i* immediately. The preposition takes the isolated form (see 9.1), e.g.

*missa* [i x ssaasey ſkas-nni] t tameqqrant  
 table / that / on / I.put<sup>P</sup> / glass-that / pred / big<sup>FSGFS</sup>  
 'the table on which I put this glass is big'

In prepositional relatives of a non-verbal clause, an invariable particle *dža* is used (see 13.5), e.g.

*tahenžiat* [i yaa dža umeddukeř]  
 girl<sup>FS</sup> / that / at / be / friend<sup>AS</sup>  
 'a girl that has a boyfriend'

## 15.3 Cleft constructions

Cleft constructions (see 14.4) consist of the predicate of a non-verbal sentence, modified by a relative clause. The use of the relative marker *i* is obligatory in all clefts, including subject clefts, e.g.

(d) *netta i d-yusin nhar-a*  
 (PRED) / he / that / hither-coming<sup>P</sup> / day-this  
 'it is he who has come today' (subject cleft)

(d) *Mimun i ʐriy*  
 PRED / Mimoun / that / I.saw<sup>P</sup>  
 'it is Mimoun that I saw' (Direct Object cleft)

## 15.4 Question word questions

Question word questions are similar to clefts in that the question word functions as a head to which a relative clause is attached. There are two major differences between question word questions and (other) clefts. In the first place, question words are never preceded by *d*, in the second place, the relative marker *i* is not used,<sup>30</sup> e.g.

*wi dawem-t-yennan?*  
 who / you<sup>MPL</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup>-saying<sup>P</sup>  
 'who told it to you?' (subject interrogative)

*min d-yesya zi ssuq?*  
 what / hither-he.bought<sup>P</sup> / from / market  
 'what did he buy from the market?' (Direct Object interrogative)

*meřmi d ya ʐawdēt?*  
 when / hither / AD / you<sup>FPL</sup>.arrive<sup>A</sup>  
 'when are you going to arrive here ?'

For further details, see 12.2.

<sup>30</sup> Many question words end in *i*, e.g. *mani* 'where', *meřmi* 'when'. It is not possible to analyze this *i* as the relative particle, as the question word still has *i* when it appears alone, e.g. *meřmi?* 'when?'.

## 16. Operator verbs and complementizers

Operator verbs are verbs that function like English auxiliaries such as 'can', 'start' or 'begin'. Different from English and many other European languages, the second verb in such a construction is always finite. It is impossible – or at least highly unnatural – to use a nominal form in such constructions. Thus, where English would have infinitives or gerunds, Tarifiyt has full verbal forms, e.g.

*yebda yetxemmem* 'he started to ponder (lit. he started he is pondering)'  
he.started<sup>P</sup> / he.ponders<sup>A</sup>

*xsey ad meṛšey* 'I want to marry (lit. I want I shall marry)'  
I.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / I.marry<sup>A</sup>

Many operator verbs determine the choice of the aspect of the second verb. This is according to the aspectual properties set out by the operator verb. Thus verbs such as *xes* 'to want' or *zemmaa* 'to be able to' set out an action that is not (yet) realized. Therefore, they are always followed by a verb constructed with the particle *ad*. On the other hand, verbs like *bda* 'to begin' or *qqim* '(begin and) go on' set out an action that will probably take some time and are therefore constructed with an Imperfective.

There are a few verbs that do not determine the aspect of the second verb. Most prominent is the verb 'to find (that)', e.g.

*yuf-it yetxemmem* 'he found him pondering (Imperfective)'  
he.found<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / he.ponders<sup>A</sup>

*yuf-it yeffey* 'he found that he had gone out (Perfective)'  
he.found<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / he.exited<sup>P</sup>

'Be' and 'become'-verbs are followed by a full stative predicate, mostly (but not necessarily) a non-verbal clause (see also 13.5). Examples:

*qa yedwer d adbi*  
QA / he.became<sup>P</sup> / PRED / doctor<sup>RS</sup>  
'he has become a doctor' (non-verbal complement)

*yedwer qaṣ yeggenfa*  
he.became<sup>P</sup> / entirely / he.healed<sup>P</sup>  
'he became fully healed' (verbal complement)

In addition to operator constructions, there also exist complementizer constructions (as with English 'that'). The complementizer is *illa* or *belli*.

*yessen illa ad ariy*  
he.knows<sup>P</sup> / that / AD / I.write<sup>A</sup>  
'he knows that I will write'

*qa tessned illa d mmi-m*  
 QA / you<sup>SG</sup>.know<sup>P</sup> / that / PRED / son-your<sup>F</sup>  
 'you know that it is your son'

*qa tessned illa uma-š yeddaa*  
 QA / you<sup>SG</sup>.know<sup>P</sup> / that / brother-your<sup>M</sup> / he.lives<sup>P</sup>  
 'you know that your brother is alive (lit. lives)'

*lmuhimm tceqř-it illa d mmi-s*  
 well / she.recognized<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / that / PRED / son-her  
 'well, she recognized (him) that he was her son'

*tufa illa walu*  
 she.found<sup>P</sup> / that / nothing  
 'she found that there was nothing'

With *ssen* 'to know', one remarks the difference between the complement construction and the operator construction, as in:

*yessen ad yessiweř*  
 he.knows<sup>P</sup> / AD / he.speaks<sup>A</sup>  
 'he knows (how) to speak'

When the verb is negated, the question particle *ma* is used instead of *illa*:

*waa ssiney ma yus-d*  
 not / I.know<sup>NP</sup> / Q / he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither  
 'I don't know whether he came'

With the lexicalized clipped version *waa-ssi*, it is possible to do without a complementizer, e.g.

*waa-ssi a d-yas niy lla*  
 don't.know<sup>A</sup> / AD / hither-he.comes<sup>A</sup> / or / no  
 'I don't know whether he will come or not'

## 17. Coordination and subordination

### 17.1 Coordination

The two main coordinators are *d* 'NP coordinator' and *niy* 'or'. The coordinator *d* 'and' is a preposition that is only allowed to coordinate nouns and (free) pronouns. The coordinative preposition *d* is different from the comitative preposition, which is *ak(ed)* 'with' (see 9.1.6). The noun following *d* is in the Annexed State, e.g.

*netta d umeddukeř nnes*  
he / and / friend<sup>AS</sup> / his  
'he and his friend'

In series of coordinated Noun Phrases, the preposition *d* is normally repeated, e.g.

*imendi d farina d yaaden*  
barley / and / soft.wheat / and / wheat<sup>AS</sup>  
'barley, soft wheat and wheat'

Sentences are normally not coordinated. It is marginally possible to use the comitative preposition *ak* for sentence coordination, e.g.

*yewta gg<sup>w</sup> keššud-enni ammu,*  
he.hit<sup>p</sup> / in / wood<sup>AS</sup>-that / like.this  
*ak umi ya yewwet gg<sup>w</sup> keššuđ-enni...*  
with / when / AD / he.hits<sup>A</sup> / in / wood<sup>AS</sup>-that  
'he hit on the piece of wood like this, and when he had hit on the piece of wood...'

Instead of *ak* it is also possible – at least with younger speakers – to use the Arabic loan *mea* in this context.

The coordinator *niy* 'or' is used in all kinds of coordination, e.g.

*min ya teššed, ma ayrum imendi niy wenni n farina?*  
what / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.eat<sup>A</sup> / Q / bread<sup>M</sup> / [of] barley / or / that.one<sup>M</sup> / of / soft.wheat  
'what are you going to eat, bread made of barley, or that made of soft wheat?' (noun coordination)

*manis ya tadfed, ma zi řmežra niy zi tewwaqt?*  
whence / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.enter<sup>A</sup> / Q / from / ditch / or / from / door<sup>AS</sup>  
'whence will you go out, through the ditch or through the door?'  
(coordination of prepositional phrases)

*ma d azegg<sup>w</sup>ay niy d ašemrař?*  
Q / PRED / red<sup>M:SG:FS</sup> / or / PRED / white<sup>M:SG:FS</sup>  
'is it red or is it white?' (coordination of two non-verbal predicates)

*debbaq xasent niy ad uyuay nešš*  
 handle!<sup>A</sup> / on.them<sup>F</sup> / or / AD / I.walk<sup>A</sup> / I  
 'dispose of them or I shall go myself!' (coordination of two verbal sentences)

*Niy* also occurs in tag questions:

*ma yetṭef mliḥ niy lla?*  
 Q / he.held<sup>P</sup> / well / or / no  
 'does it hold well or not?'

*baḥa-twem ma yaas aššawen, niy?*  
 father-your<sup>M.PL</sup> / Q / at.him / horns<sup>F.S</sup> / or  
 'your father, does he have horns, or (not)?'

In addition to *d* and *niy*, there are a number of coordinators which only coordinate sentences:

*maša, walakin, walayenni* 'but', *seeeea* 'but in reality', e.g.

*qa yari mmi d waabiḥ inu*  
 QA / at.me / my.son / and / stepson<sup>AS</sup> / my  
*maša waa ssiney mmi zeggʷ aabiḥ inu*  
 but / not / I.know<sup>NP</sup> / my.son / from / stepson<sup>AS</sup> / my  
 'I have a son and a stepson, but I can't see the difference between my son and my stepson (lit. but I don't know my son from my stepson)'  
*neššin netyiř a t-id-yawi yemmut,*  
 we / we.think / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>-hither-he.brings<sup>A</sup> / he.died<sup>P</sup>  
*seeeea yiwi-t-id yeddaa*  
 in.reality / he.brought<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither / he.lives<sup>P</sup>  
 'we thought he would bring him dead, but he brought him alive!'

*řa ... řa* 'neither ... nor'. This is only used in combination with a negation, e.g.

*waa yaawem řa yemma-twem řa eenti-twem*  
 not / at.you<sup>M.PL</sup> / nor / mother-your<sup>M.PL</sup> / nor / aunt-your<sup>M.PL</sup>  
 'you have neither a mother nor a paternal aunt'

## 17.2 Subordination

There are a number of frequent subordinators. Some of these cause clitic fronting (see 7.3) and (if syntactically possible) the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad*. Others do not have this effect.

### 17.2.1 Hypothetical and Counterfactual

*mařa ~ madža* 'if' (hypothetical)

The subordinator *mařa* indicates hypothesis; the outcome may be realized or not. In the subordinated part (the protasis), *mařa* is always followed by a Perfective verb or by a non-verbal predicate. *Mařa* does not cause clitic fronting, e.g.

*mařa texsed a ðam-t-newš*  
 if / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>FSGAO</sup>-him<sup>M</sup>-we.give<sup>A</sup>  
 'if you want, we will give him to you'

*mařa waa ffijent ad ffjey nešš*  
 if / not / they<sup>F</sup>.exited<sup>NP</sup> / AD / I.exit<sup>A</sup> / I  
 'if they don't go out, I shall go out myself'

*mařa t tahaněziat, žž-it*  
 if / PRED / girl<sup>FS</sup> / let<sup>A</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup>  
 'if it is a girl, leave her in peace'

*mři, meelik* 'if (counterfactual)'

The subordinators *mři* and *meelik* indicate a hypothesis which is known to be untrue. They are followed by a verbal clause with a Perfective verb or by a non-verbal predicate. The main clause is often preceded by the particle *iři* or, more emphatically, *tiři*; it is normally in the Perfective too. The counterfactual subordinators cause clitic fronting, e.g.

*mři d-usiy iři ššiy*  
 if / hither-I.came<sup>P</sup> / then / I.ate<sup>P</sup>  
 'if I had come, I would have eaten'

Counterfactuals with a non-verbal predicate always use the particle *tuya* 'past', e.g.

*meelik š-tuya d uma iři aqq-eš akidi*  
 if / you<sup>M-MSGDO</sup>-PAST / PRED / my.brother / then / here.is-you<sup>M-MSGDO</sup> / with.me  
 'if you had been my brother, you would have been with me'

*waxxa* 'even if'

This conjunction causes clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad*. It does not set out a specific aspect, e.g.

*waxxa dayi-t ya tewšed t tamedžač, a t-qebřey*  
 even.if / me<sup>IO</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.give<sup>A</sup> / PRED / egg<sup>FS</sup> / AD / her<sup>DO</sup>-I.accept<sup>A</sup>  
 'even if you give her in the form of an egg, I will accept her'

*waxxa d Nunža nney a t-awyey*  
 even.if / PRED / Nunja / our / AD / her<sup>DO</sup>-I.take<sup>A</sup>  
 'even if it is our Nunja, I shall marry her'

*waxxa temmut waa nzemmaa a t-nešš*  
 even.if / she.died<sup>P</sup> / not / we.can<sup>Ni</sup> / AD / her<sup>DO</sup>-we.eat<sup>A</sup>  
 'even if she were dead, we could not eat her'

*Waxxa* also appears as an interjection meaning 'o.k.'

### 17.2.2 Temporal subordination

*umi, řami* 'when (past)'

These temporal subordinators are used when the subordinated clause refers to something anterior to the main clause. They are either followed by *ad* + Aorist or by a Perfective. They cause clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad*, e.g.

*niłni umi ya awyen ibawen-ni waa ṭen-arrin ša*  
 they<sup>M</sup> / when / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.bring<sup>A</sup> / beans-that / not / them<sup>M:DO</sup>-they<sup>M</sup>.plant<sup>NP</sup> / not  
 'they, when they had taken these beans with them, they did not plant them'

*umi t-yenya, ṭbedd*  
 when / him<sup>DO</sup>-he.killed<sup>P</sup> / she.stood.up<sup>P</sup>  
 'when he had killed him, she stood up'

*xmi, xemmi, xemminni, xminni* 'when (non-past)'

These temporal subordinators are used when the subordinated clause is temporally simultaneous or posterior to the main clause. Simultaneity is expressed by an Imperfective, posteriority by *ad* + Aorist. The subordinators cause clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle *ad*, e.g.

*xemmi traggʷaḥen yaa ṭaddaṭ teqqaṛ-asen aṭṭas*  
 when / they<sup>M</sup>.go.home<sup>I</sup> / to / house / she.says<sup>I</sup>-them<sup>M:IO</sup> / much<sup>FS</sup>  
 'when (or: while) they go home, she always tells them a lot'

*xmi d ya ṭreh̥gent yaa ṭaddaṭ, deḥṣent marrā*  
 when / hither / AD / you<sup>F:PL</sup>.arrive<sup>A</sup> / to / house / laugh!<sup>A:F:PL</sup> / all  
 'when (or: while) you will arrive at the house, all of you should laugh!'

*amen*, 'while, like'

Simultaneous events can be expressed by means of the conjunction *amen* 'while'. This conjunction causes clitic fronting, e.g.

*cefsey x uma amen yetṭeṣ*  
 I.stepped<sup>P</sup>/on / my.brother / while / he.sleeps<sup>P</sup>  
 'I stepped on my brother while he was sleeping'

*yeggua amen itett*  
 he.walks<sup>I</sup> / while / he.eats<sup>I</sup>  
 'he walked and ate at the same time'

*neḍwey x yiżżeñ weyyuṛ amen xafes iqubaš degg yaaynen*  
 I.jumped<sup>P</sup> / on / one<sup>M:AS</sup> / donkey<sup>AS</sup> / while / on.him / water.jars / in / saddle.bags  
 'I jumped on a donkey while there were water jars on him in his saddle bags'

When the subject is the same in the first part of the sentence and in the second, it is more natural to leave out *amen*, e.g.

*yeggua itett*  
 he.walks<sup>I</sup> / he.eats<sup>I</sup>  
 'he walked and ate (at the same time)'

*Amen* has a second meaning 'like', e.g.

*uša ruḥey ad ṭtṣey žar yayetna, amen teggey ṭebda*  
 then / I.went<sup>P</sup> / AD / I.sleep<sup>A</sup> / between / my.brothers<sup>AS</sup> / like / I.do<sup>I</sup> / always  
 'then I went to sleep between my brothers like I always did'

*ar* 'until'

This subordinator is followed by *ad* + Aorist and refers to a coming event. It has clitic fronting and the allomorph *ya* of the preverbal particle, e.g.

*žž ař ya kksey řešžur-a*  
 let!^ / until / AD / I.take.away^ / trees-this  
 'leave (it) until I will take these trees'

*ařami* 'until'

This subordinator is followed by a verb in the Perfective and refers to a past event. It causes clitic fronting, e.g.

*yeqqim ifetteh ařami yežra ižzen wesžem*  
 he.stayed^ / he.swims^ / until / he.saw^ / one / fish^S  
 'he kept on swimming, until he saw a fish' (the subject is a cat, looking for fish)

*hama* 'until'

This subordinator is followed by the Perfective. It does not cause clitic fronting, e.g.

*nešš waa težšey hama yaasa wežru-yin*  
 I / not / I.sleep^M / until / he.is.put.down^P / stone^S-that  
 'I shall not sleep until that stone over there has been put down'

*qber* 'before'

This subordinator occurs in two constructions. In the first construction, it is immediately followed by the subordinated clause, and the allomorph *ya* of the particle *ad* is used. In the second construction, *qber* is linked to the rest of the subordinated clause by an element *ma*. In this case the element *ya* does not appear. In both constructions, the subordinated clause has *ad* + Aorist, e.g.

*qber ya xeřqey usin-d lwalidin inu yaa Hulanda*  
 before / AD / I.am.born^ / they.came^P-hither / parents / my / to / Netherlands  
 'before I was born, my parents came to the Netherlands'

*qber ma a d-asen tuyu ixedžes*  
 before / that / AD / hither-they^M.come^A / PAST / he.payed^P  
 'before they came, he had already payed'

*zegga, zeggʷami*, 'since'

These subordinators cause clitic fronting, e.g.

*zegga d-yusa, iħreš*  
 since / hither-he.came^P / he.is.sick^P  
 'since he has come he is ill'

*zeggʷami swiġ pāštiyya-nni ggenfiy*  
 since / I.drank^P / pill-that / I.healed^P  
 'since I took this pill I have recovered'

The English conjunction 'after' is translated into Tarifiyt by a compound expression

*awaani umi*, lit. 'after when', e.g.

*awaani umi ixřeq aqħřen yaa Nnađu*  
 after / when / he.was.born^P / they^M.moved.homes^P / at / Nador  
 'after he was born, they moved to Nador'

### 17.2.3 Other subordinations and coordinations

Causal subordination (or coordination – the difference is difficult to establish) is normally not expressed in Tarifiyt, the causal relationship being inferred from the context. Explicit causal subordinators can be used, however. Most common among these are *min-zi*, *elaxatqā*, the Spanish loan *purki* and the Standard Arabic loan *li'anna*. The causal conjuctions do not cause clitic fronting or the use of *ya* instead of *ad*, e.g.

*uma ifaqah purki yezr-it*  
 my.brother / he.was.happy<sup>P</sup> / because / he.saw<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup>  
 'my brother is happy, because he has seen her'

Finality is expressed by the conjuctions *hama*, *huma*, *hima*, *henda* and *baš* 'in order to, so that'. They are followed by *ad* + Aorist or, when negated, by *waa* + Imperfective. They do not cause clitic fronting or the allomorph *ya* of the particle *ad*, e.g.

*teggen የfaxaq huma ad ssejwen lmakla*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>I</sup> / charcoal / in.order / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.cook<sup>A</sup> / food  
 'they put on charcoal in order to cook the food'

*tennuffaa huma waa t-id-yetwiri*  
 she.hid<sup>P</sup> / in.order / not / her<sup>DO</sup>-hither-he.sees<sup>NI</sup>  
 'she hid so that he would not see her'

## 18. Texts

In the following a couple of glossed and translated texts are presented, belonging to different genres. The first text is a short excerpt from a written autobiographical sketch by a Dutch Moroccan writer, in which he describes his childhood. The second text is a story from the Rif-Berber oral tradition, transcribed from a recording with a young woman. The third text has a more modern flavor. It is an excerpt of an Islamic sermon held in Tarifiyt and diffused through the means of the internet. While its contents reflect (modern varieties of) orthodox Islamic viewpoints, its form is highly innovative: the use of Tarifiyt instead of Arabic, and the use of the internet for the propagation of the message are very different from the traditional situation. After this, a couple of traditional *izṛan* are given, two-line songs sung at marriages and other occasions. Finally, a number of dialogues are given, including some typical greeting sequences.

### 18.1 How fairy tales were told

This text is an excerpt from the autobiographical work which sketches a childhood in the Rif, written by Eali Amaziy: *Tudunin war itizyen* (Zutphen: Wöhrmann print service, 2012, p. 3). The transcription has been adapted to the conventions used here.

*Am neššin am waṭṭas n yewḍan mammeš i eeqřey*  
like / 1 / like / many<sup>AS</sup> / of / people<sup>AS</sup> / how / that / I.remember<sup>P</sup>  
I, like many people, the way I remember,

*tuya xminni i ya ῥahey ad tt̄sey degg<sup>w</sup> xxam*  
PAST / when / that / AD / I.go<sup>A</sup> / AD / I.sleep<sup>A</sup> / in / room<sup>AS</sup>  
when I would go sleeping in the room

*žaa yayedma d yemma,*  
between / my.brothers<sup>AS</sup> / and / my.mother  
between my brothers and my mother,

*yemma tuya yaa a tessexsi ῥaftič n ῥqendič*  
my.mother / PAST / just / AD / she.puts.out<sup>A</sup> / wick / of / oil.lamp  
my mother would just put out the wick of the oil lamp

*niy a tṣud x ῥeftič n t̄šumeet a t-tessexsi,*  
or / AD / she.blows / on / wick<sup>AS</sup> / of / candle / AD / it<sup>F:DO</sup>-she.puts.out<sup>A</sup>  
or blow on the wick of the candle in order to put it out,

*uša a tessenta a daney-d-ṭini ižzen ῥažit zi ῥinni yessaggwaden aṭṭas*  
then / AD / she.begins<sup>A</sup> / AD / us<sup>10</sup>-hither-she.says<sup>A</sup> / one / story / from / those<sup>F</sup> / scaring<sup>I</sup> / lot<sup>F5</sup>  
and then she would begin to tell us one of the very scary stories,

hima a nesqaa, niy hima a daney-yawi yiðeş deyya.

so.that / AD / we.are.silent<sup>A</sup> / or / so.that / AD / us<sup>DO</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>.brings<sup>A</sup> / sleep<sup>A5</sup> / immediately so that we would keep quiet, or so that we would fall asleep immediately (lit. so that sleep would carry us away immediately).

Mammeş tuyu kidney ttus henna şa n twařatın

how / PAST / with.us / she.spends.the.night<sup>I</sup> / my.grandmother / some / of / times<sup>A5</sup>  
Like when my grandmother would sleep at our place some times,

uřa d nettař tuyu teqqar-aney-d tihuža zi tinni yessaggwaden attaş.

as.well / PRED / she / PAST / she.says<sup>I</sup>-us<sup>IO</sup>-hither / stories<sup>TS</sup> / from / those<sup>F</sup> / scaring<sup>I</sup> / lot<sup>TS</sup>  
she would also tell us very scary stories.

Amešnaw thažit n wemziw niy amešnaw thažit-enni n tenni yešin mmi-s  
like / story / of / ogre<sup>A5</sup> / or / like / story-that / of / the.one<sup>F</sup> / eating<sup>P</sup> / son-her  
Like the story of the ogre, or like the story of the woman that ate her son,

niy n tenni i tuyu yetrahen s džiřet yaa imedřan

or / of / the.one<sup>F</sup> / that / PAST / going<sup>I</sup> / with / night / to / graves.  
or of the woman that used to go to the cemetery at night

tfetteř dinniseysu s uſus umettin.

she.rolls.(couscous)<sup>I</sup> / there / couscous / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / [of] dead.person<sup>AS</sup>  
and roll couscous there with the hand of a dead person.

Henna tuyu tessen ižzen waṭṭas n tħuža

my.grandmother / PAST / she.knows<sup>P</sup> / one / lot<sup>A5</sup> / of / stories<sup>A5</sup>  
My grandmother knew a lot of stories

uša tuyu xminni i daney-d-teqqar ša n thažit

then / PAST / when / that / us<sup>IO</sup>-hither-she.says<sup>I</sup> / some / of / story  
then, when she would tell us a story

a teqqaq a teqqaq a daney-d-teawed thažit-enni

AD / she.says<sup>I</sup> / AD / she.says<sup>I</sup> / AD / us<sup>IO</sup>-hither-she.tells<sup>A</sup> / story-that  
she would tell and tell and tell us the story,

ař daney-tesřa marrā nešuxrut,

until / us<sup>IO</sup>-she.heard<sup>I</sup> / all / we.snore<sup>I</sup>  
until she heard us all snoring.

xenni i ya tessen henna belli yiwy-aney yiðeş

then / that / AD / she.knows<sup>A</sup> / my.grandmother / that / it.brought<sup>P</sup>-us<sup>DO</sup> / sleep<sup>A5</sup>  
when my grandmother would know that we had fallen asleep

uša a tesqaa hima uřa d nettař a teteş.

then / AD / she.is.silent<sup>A</sup> / so.that / as.well / PRED / she / AD / she.sleeps<sup>A</sup>  
she would stop speaking so that she could sleep too.

Maša ša n twařatın tesřiy-as i henna ttřaya-ayi-d

but / some / of / times<sup>A5</sup> / I.heard<sup>I</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / to / my.grandmother / she.calls<sup>I</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup>-hither  
But sometimes I heard my grandmother call me:

'A Eři inu, a Eři inu, ma tettisəd niy ead waa tettisəd?'

o / Ali / my / o / Ali / my / q / you<sup>SG</sup>.sleep<sup>P</sup> / or / yet / not / you<sup>SG</sup>.sleep<sup>NP</sup>

'Ali, my Ali, are you asleep, or are you not yet asleep?'

A das-iniy nešš: 'A ḥenna, nešš ead waa ṭṭiṣey ša.'  
 AD / her<sup>10</sup>-I.say<sup>A</sup> / I / o / my.grandmother / I / yet / not / I.sleep<sup>NP</sup> / not  
 I would answer: 'Grandmother, I'm not yet asleep.'

Uša a tsiyi ḥenna a dayi-d-ṭeqqar ṭhažit-enni.  
 then / AD / she.continues<sup>A</sup> / my.grandmother / AD / me<sup>10</sup>-hither-she.says<sup>I</sup> / story-that  
 Then my grandmother would continue telling me the story.

Uša tuya ḥenna kuř ṭwařa a tesqqa,  
 then / PAST / my.grandmother / every / time / AD / she.is.silent<sup>A</sup>  
 Then my grandmother would time and again stop speaking,

uša a dayi-d-ṭrāya  
 then / AD / me<sup>10</sup>-hither-she.calls<sup>A</sup>  
 and call me:

'A Ēři inu, a Ēři inu, ma ṭetṭisēd niy ead? Waa ṭetṭisēd ša?'  
 o / Ali / my / o / Ali / my / q / you<sup>SG</sup>.sleep<sup>P</sup> / or / yet / not / you<sup>SG</sup>.sleep<sup>NP</sup> / not  
 'Ali, my Ali, are you asleep or not yet? Aren't you sleep?'

Kuř ṭwařa a dayi-d-ṭrāya,  
 every / time / AD / me<sup>10</sup>-hither-she.calls<sup>A</sup>  
 She would ask me time and again,

ṭxezzar-ayi ma yiwy-ayi yiđeš niy ead.  
 she.looks<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>10</sup> / q / it<sup>M</sup>.brought<sup>F</sup>-me<sup>PO</sup> / sleep<sup>AS</sup> / or / yet  
 looking whether I had fallen asleep or not yet.

## 18.2 The story of Gold-Pearl and his mother

This is a traditional story as told by a young woman.

Ruḥ xas, a xas nṛāḥ waa ntegg<sup>wed!</sup> ḥažit-ek!<sup>31</sup>  
 go!<sup>A</sup> / on.him / AD / on.him / we.go<sup>I</sup> / not / we.fear<sup>NI</sup> / ḥažit-ek  
 'We will go through it without fear.'

Yekka<sup>32</sup> ižž užedžid yaas ižžen yiyyaa n yaaden yemyaā.  
 he.rose<sup>P</sup> / one / king<sup>AS</sup> / at.him / one / field<sup>AS</sup> / of / wheat<sup>AS</sup> / he.is.big<sup>P</sup>  
 Once upon a time there was a king who had a big field of wheat.

Uša yus-d zeema yemsennad. Uša kkint ssin tmeħtaš,  
 then / he.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / you.know / it.leaned<sup>P</sup> / then / they<sup>F</sup>.passed<sup>P</sup> / by.there / mowers<sup>AS</sup>  
 Then it was hanging over. Then some women who mow the grass passed.

tuya waa-ssi seb̄ea uṛa ṭraṭa,  
 PAST / don't.know / seven / or / three.  
 They were, I don't know, seven or three,

nešš muhimm ssney ṭraṭa, ad iniy ṭraṭa.  
 I / in.fact / I.know<sup>P</sup> / three / AD / I.say<sup>A</sup> / three.  
 (Well, I know three, so I'll say three.)

<sup>31</sup> The first line is a conventional opening formula of a story. The word *ḥažit-ek* is Arabic opening and literally means 'I told you'.

<sup>32</sup> The verb *kkaa* 'to rise' is often used to initiate a new series of actions.

*Tenn-as tmezwarut:*  
she.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / first<sup>FAS</sup>  
The first one said:

- *Mři dayi ya yawi<sup>33</sup> bab n yiyyar-a,*  
if<sup>4</sup> / me<sup>DO</sup> / AD / he.brings<sup>A</sup> / possessor / of / field<sup>AS</sup>-this.
- If the master of this field would marry me,  
*a das-ggey<sup>35</sup> ažedžab s yižž uyeydu.*  
AD / him<sup>IO</sup>-I.make<sup>A</sup> / gown<sup>TS</sup> / with / one<sup>AS</sup> / rolag<sup>AS</sup>  
I would make him a gown with a single rolag.<sup>36</sup>

*Teawd-as tenneyni, tenn-as:*  
she.told<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / the.other<sup>F</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>  
The other said:

- *Mařa yiwy-ayi bab n yiyyar-a,*  
if / he.brings<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / possessor / of / field<sup>AS</sup>-this
- If the master of this field marries me,  
*a das-ggey seksu s yižžen tidaatt.*  
AD / him<sup>IO</sup>-I.make<sup>A</sup> / couscous / with / one<sup>AS</sup> / ear.of.grain  
I will make him couscous out of a single ear of grain.

*Tenni taneggarut tenn-as:*  
the.one<sup>F</sup> / last<sup>FPS</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>  
The last one said:

- *Mařa yiwy-ayi bab n yiyyar-a,*  
if / he.brings<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / possessor / of / field<sup>AS</sup>-this.
- If the master of this field marries me,  
*a das-d-žžey mmi-s yaas tiyuqit n wuq̃ di tenyiat.*  
AD / him<sup>IO</sup>-hither-I.leave<sup>A</sup> / son-his / at.him / pearl<sup>TS</sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / on / forehead<sup>AS</sup>  
I will give him a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.

*Netta tuya-č dinni, tuya yeteesses, tuya yennuffaa yeshessa yaasent.*  
he / PAST-him<sup>DO</sup> / there / PAST / he.guards<sup>I</sup> / PAST / he.hid<sup>P</sup> / he.listens<sup>I</sup> / at.them<sup>FPL</sup>  
He was there, he was guarding, he had hid and listened to them.

*Yekkaa iruh yexdeb tamezwarut,*  
he.rose<sup>P</sup> / he.went<sup>P</sup> / he.asked.the.hand<sup>P</sup> / first<sup>FPS</sup>  
He asked the hand of the first one,

*tenni das-yennan: 'a daš-ggey ažedžab s yižž uyeydu'.*  
the.one<sup>F</sup> / him<sup>IO</sup>-saying<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-make<sup>A</sup> / gown<sup>TS</sup> / with / one<sup>AS</sup> / rolag<sup>AS</sup>  
The one that had said: 'I will make you a gown from a single rolag'

<sup>33</sup> The verb *awi* expresses that something is carried somewhere. With the particle *-d* 'hither', it can be translated as 'to bring'. *Awi* is also used, like in this sentence, for taking somebody as one's wife or husband.

<sup>34</sup> *Mři* is the counterfactual; later on hypothetic *mařa* is used.

<sup>35</sup> The verb *gg* can be translated in a number of different ways into English: 'do', 'make', 'put', 'be like'.

<sup>36</sup> I.e., a bundle of washed and carded wool that has not yet been spun.

*Ixedb-it, yiwy-it, yiwy-az-d třist,*  
 he.asked<sup>P</sup>.the.hand.of-her<sup>DO</sup> / he.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / he.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-hither / fleece  
 He asked her hand, he married her, he brought her a fleece,

*třist uhuři amen tekmer.*<sup>37</sup>  
 fleece / [of] ram<sup>AS</sup> / while / she.is.complete<sup>P</sup>  
 an entire ram's fleece.

*Tedžm-it tqaqadš-it, hay hay, ša iřuř diha, ša tzeřy-it,*  
 she.spun<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>FOO</sup> / she.carded<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>FOO</sup> / ho / ho / some / it<sup>M</sup>.went<sup>P</sup> / there / some / she.rolled<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup>  
 She spun it, she carded it, ho ho! some of it went here, some of it she let roll away,

*waa das-t- teggi ša, waa das-teggi bu uqubbu.*  
 not / him<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>FOO</sup>-she.made<sup>NP</sup> / not / not / him<sup>DO</sup>-she.made<sup>NP</sup> / not / cloak<sup>AS</sup>  
 She did not make it for him, she did not make a cloak for him,

*Waa das-teggi řa d řqebb.*  
 not / him<sup>IO</sup>-she.made<sup>NP</sup> / even / PRED / hood  
 She did not even make a hood for him.

*Ieawed i tennyni.*  
 he.repeated<sup>P</sup> / to / the.other<sup>F</sup>  
 He did the same to the other.

*Yiwi tenni das-yennan:*  
 he.brought<sup>P</sup> / the.one<sup>F</sup> / him<sup>IO</sup>-saying<sup>P</sup>  
 He married the one that had said to him:

*'a daš-ggey seksu s yižzen tidaatt'.*  
 AD / you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-make<sup>A</sup> / couscous/ with / one<sup>AS</sup> / ear.of.grain  
 'I will make you couscous from a single ear of grain'

*Netta yiwy-as-d řmudd, řmudd n yiaden.*  
 he / he.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-hither / mud / mud / of / wheat<sup>AS</sup>  
 He married her and brought her a mud, a mud of wheat.

*Thaay-it-en, tssiff-it-en, ša iřuř t tanexxač,*  
 she.ground<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup> / she.sieved<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup> / some / it<sup>M</sup>.went / PRED / bran<sup>FS</sup>  
 She ground it, she sieved it, some of it became bran,

*šway iřuř d iwzan, šwayt t tiwzačin,*  
 some / it<sup>M</sup>.went / PRED / crushed.grains<sup>FS</sup> / some / PRED / finely.crushed.grains<sup>FS</sup>  
 some of it became crushed grains, some finely crushed grains,

*šway d aan t taneyda.*  
 some / PRED / flour<sup>FS</sup> / PRED / powder<sup>FS</sup>  
 some flour like powder.

*Waa das-teggi řa t tfačač.*  
 not / him<sup>IO</sup>-she.made<sup>NP</sup> / even / PRED / couscous.rolling<sup>38</sup>  
 She did not even make for him any couscous rolling.

<sup>37</sup> The expression *amen tekmer* 'like she is complete' is used as an equivalent of English 'entire'.

*Taneggarut yiwy-it, tenni das-yennan:*

last<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / he.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / the.one<sup>F</sup> / him<sup>IO</sup>-saying<sup>P</sup>

He married the last one, the one that had said to him:

'a daš-d-žžey mmi-š yaas tiyuqit n wuq̃ di tenyiat.'

AD / you<sup>MSG<sup>IO</sup></sup>-hither-I.leave<sup>P</sup> / son-your<sup>M<sup>SG</sup></sup> / at.him / pearl<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / on / forehead<sup>AS</sup>

'I will give you a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.'

*Yiwy-it yeq̃aq, ttak ttak, yaas d̃qiset, yeteayan.*

he.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / he.took.patience<sup>P</sup> / ttak / ttak / at.her / pregnancy / he.waits<sup>I</sup>

He married her, he waited patiently, ttak ttak, she became pregnant, he waited,

*Yeteayan, nhar-a tiwešša, nhar-a tiwešša,*

he.waits<sup>I</sup> / day-this / tomorrow<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / day-this / tomorrow<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup>

he waited, day after day, day after day.

*yiwed-d xas tsee šhuq, tzeyyed, turu-d,*

it<sup>M</sup>.arrived<sup>P</sup>-hither / on.her / nine / months / she.gave.birth<sup>P</sup> / she.gave.birth<sup>P</sup>-hither

She reached her nine months (lit. nine months reached her), and she gave birth,

*turu-d mmi-s yaas tiyuqit n wuq̃ di tenyiat.*

she.gave.birth<sup>P</sup>-hither / son-his / at.him / pearl<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup>

she gave birth to a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.

*Tekkaa tašniwin nnes yiant zzayes mnant-as:*

she.rose<sup>P</sup> / co-wives / her / they<sup>F</sup>.were.jealous<sup>P</sup> / from.her / they<sup>F</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>

The other wives became jealous and said:

- *Xyaa ḥaniti težž-d mmi-s yaas tiyuqit n wuq̃ di tenyiat,*

good / this.one<sup>F</sup> / she.left<sup>P</sup>-hither / son-her / at.him / pearl<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup>

- Okay, she has given birth to a son with a golden pearl on her forehead,

*neššin min nenna waa neggi ša, ḥaniti a tiři tefdeř xaney?!*

we / what / we.said<sup>P</sup> / not / we.did<sup>NP</sup> / not / this.one<sup>F</sup> / AD / she.is<sup>A</sup> / she.is.better<sup>P</sup> / on.us.

we, we did not do what we had promised, and she, she should be better than us?!

*Tekkaa-d tekk-d senni ižžen tmeseeš,*

she.rose<sup>P</sup>-hither / she.passed<sup>P</sup>-hither / by.there / one / beggar<sup>F<sub>AS</sub></sup>

So a beggar woman passed by,

*neššin neqqar-as tameseeš, ttetcaa.*

we / we.say<sup>I</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / beggar<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup> / she.begs<sup>I</sup>

we call it a beggar women, she begged.

*Nettaq meskina mix d-težža ahenžia-nni, tesxef šafī.*

she / poor.one<sup>F</sup> / when / hither-she.left<sup>P</sup> / boy<sup>F<sub>TS</sub></sup>-that / she.fainted<sup>P</sup> / enough

The poor one had fully fainted when she had given birth to the boy.

*Wšint-as tehru uša sfesyent-as ddhen,*

they<sup>F</sup>.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / she.gulped<sup>P</sup> / then / they<sup>F</sup>.made.melt<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / butter

They gave it to her, she drank, they melted butter for her,<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> We are not certain of the meaning of *tfafač*. It probably refers to the end result of the action of rolling the couscous.

<sup>39</sup> This passage describes traditional actions around childbirth.

*teggent ddegg-nni, şafi teşhed, ttekk adu tmuat.*

they<sup>F</sup>.made<sup>I</sup> / thingy-that / enough / she.fainted<sup>P</sup> / she.passes<sup>I</sup> / under / ground<sup>AS</sup>

They did that sort of thing, then she fainted, she fainted (lit. she passed under the ground)

*Ksint-as ahenžia-nni nnant-as, tmeheeš, tenn-as:*

they<sup>F</sup>.took.away<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / boy<sup>FS</sup>-that / they<sup>F</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / she.begs<sup>I</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>

They took the boy away from her and said to her, she was begging, she said to her:

- A xaci waa yaaney da şa, yaaney illa išten turu,

o / my.aunt / not / at.us / here / not / at.us / only / one<sup>F</sup> / she.gave.birth<sup>P</sup>

- Aunty, we don't have anything here, we only have someone who has given birth,

*tenđaa mmi-s tugi a t-tessyem,*

she.threw<sup>P</sup> / son-her / she.refuses<sup>P</sup> / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>-she.raises<sup>A</sup>

and thrown away her son, she refuses to raise him.

*mařa texsed a dam-t-newš a t-tesseymed.*

if / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>F:SG:IO</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-we.give<sup>A</sup> / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.raise<sup>A</sup>

If you want, we shall give him to you so that you can raise him.

*Tenn-as: - Wah a yessi ewšent-ayi-t.*

she.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / yes / o / my.daughters / give<sup>I:A:F:PL</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>

She said: - Okay, my daughters, give him to me.

*Teksi-t nettat.*

she.took.away<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / she

She took him with her.

*Uša wšint-as, qessent-as tiřetett,*

then / they<sup>F</sup>.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.cut.off<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / little.finger<sup>FS</sup>

So they gave him to her, they cut off his little finger,

*ggint-as-t deg qemnum i yemma-s.*

they<sup>F</sup>.put<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>F</sup> / in / mouth<sup>AS</sup> / to / mother-his

and put it in the mouth of his mother.

*Ggint-as-t deg qemnum, tuyua,*

they<sup>F</sup>.put<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>F</sup> / in / mouth<sup>AS</sup> / she.went<sup>P</sup>

They put it in the mouth (of his mother) and she went away,

*wšint-as aseymi, ssehnunndet-t di tšunnađ, di tkettanin.*

they<sup>F</sup>.gave<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / baby<sup>FS</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.wrapped<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / in / swaddling.clothes<sup>AS</sup> / in / cloths<sup>AS</sup>

they gave her the baby, they wrapped him in swaddling clothes, in cloths.

*Tssehnunnd-it di tšunnađ nnes tekxi-t.*

she.wrapped<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / in / swaddling.clothes<sup>AS</sup> / his / she.took.away<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>

She wrapped him in swaddling clothes and she took him with her.

*Teksi-t tmeseešt-nni, şafi.*

she.took.away<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / beggar<sup>F:AS</sup>-that / enough

The beggar woman took him away, that's it.

*Kkaa<sup>40</sup> ggint-as tiřetetēt-nni deg qemmum umi tuyua tmeseeš-nni,*  
 rise<sup>P</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.put<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / little.finger<sup>FS</sup>-that / in / mouth<sup>AS</sup> / when / she.went<sup>P</sup> / beggar<sup>FS</sup>-that  
 So they put the little finger in her mouth when the beggar woman had gone away,

*mbeed umi t-twaaran ggua a tfaq, sekkaant tyuyyit;*

after / when / her<sup>DO</sup>-they<sup>F</sup>.saw<sup>I</sup> / almost / AD / she.wakes.up<sup>A</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.made.rise<sup>P</sup> / crying  
 and then, when they saw that she was going to wake up they started to cry:

- *Aaaaa qa ta tešša mmi-s,*

oooh / QA / this.one<sup>F</sup> / she.ate<sup>P</sup> / son-her

- *Oooohhh, she has eaten her son!*

*neššin neřha kis, neššuđš-ít tlaqf nnes, nennd-ít,*

we / we.took.care<sup>P</sup> / with.him / we.made.sleep<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / next / her / we.swaddled<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>

We, we were taking care of him, we made him sleep at her side, we swaddled him,

*a qa tešša mmi-s!*

oh / QA / she.ate<sup>P</sup> / son-her

and now she has eaten her son!

*Ssekkaant xas tyuyyit.*

they<sup>F</sup>.made.rise<sup>P</sup> / on.her / crying

They started to cry.

*Yaaggwēh-d waayaz, nnant-as:*

he.came.home<sup>P</sup>-hither / man<sup>AS</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>

The husband came home and they told him:

- *a sidi, a qa tamyaat nnes i daš-d-yežzin mmi-š*

o / sir / o / QA / woman<sup>FS</sup> / your<sup>MSG</sup> / that / you<sup>MSGIO</sup>-hither-leaving<sup>P</sup> / son-your<sup>MSG</sup>

- O Sir, your wife that has given you a son

*yaas t̄iyuqit n wuq di tenyiat, a qa tešš-ít!*

at.him / pearl<sup>FS</sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup> / o / QA / she.ate<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>

with a golden pearl on his forehead, she has eaten him!

*Yekkaa netta yessekk abarrah yaa uđewwqā-nni.*

he.rose<sup>P</sup> / he / he.sent<sup>P</sup> / messenger<sup>FS</sup> / to / village<sup>AS</sup>-that

He sent out a messenger to the village.

*Yenna: - a qa mameš das ya ggey.*

he.said<sup>P</sup> / o / QA / how / her<sup>IO</sup> / AD / I.do<sup>A</sup>

He said: - This is what I shall do to her.

*Iyqas<sup>41</sup> i yiž ufunas yekks-as iřem-nni*

he.slaughtered<sup>P</sup> / to / one<sup>AS</sup> / ox<sup>AS</sup> / he.took.off<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / skin<sup>FS</sup>-that

He slaughtered an ox, he took off the hide

*yegg-ít xas, yesyqad-as-t.*

he.put<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup> / on.her / he.made.wear<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup>

and put it on her, he made her wear it.

<sup>40</sup> In this sentence, the verb *kkaa* 'to rise', in the sense of initiating an action, has lost its verbal inflections.

<sup>41</sup> The verb *yaqas* 'to slaughter' is always constructed with an Indirect object.

Uša wenni yaa dža<sup>42</sup> ša n weyyuř, wenni yaa dža ša ufunas,  
 the.one<sup>M</sup> / at / be / some / of / donkey<sup>AS</sup> / the.one<sup>M</sup> / at / be / some / [of] ox<sup>AS</sup>  
 After that, anyone who had a donkey, anyone who had an ox,  
 wenni yaa dža ša n weřyem, aya řuħuš,  
 then / the.one<sup>M</sup> / at / be / some / of / camel<sup>AS</sup> / whatever / animals.  
 anyone who had a camel, any kind of animal,  
 yesmuna-yas-č-id s kušši.  
 he.makes.go.with<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup>-hither / with / everything  
 he would put them all together for her.

Yesmun-as-č-id, tčebda ttras.  
 he.makes.go.with<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>MDO</sup>-hither / she.started<sup>P</sup> / she.herds<sup>I</sup>  
 He put them together for her and she started herding them.

Ruhen wussan usin-d, ruhen wussan usin-d,  
 they<sup>M</sup>.went<sup>P</sup> / days<sup>AS</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / they<sup>M</sup>.went<sup>P</sup> / days<sup>AS</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.came<sup>P</sup>-hither  
 The days came, the days went, the days came, the days went,  
 aħenžia-nni yemyaq, yeqqim<sup>43</sup> itiraa.  
 boy<sup>FS</sup>-this / he.grew.up<sup>P</sup> / he.sat<sup>P</sup> / he.plays<sup>I</sup>  
 the boy grew up and started to play.

Tesseym-it tmesečt-nni, yemyaq, d aayaz.  
 she.raised<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / beggar<sup>FS</sup>-that / he.grew.up<sup>P</sup> / PRED / man<sup>FS</sup>  
 The beggar woman raised him, he grew up, he became a man.

Yekkaa min yexdəm netta  
 he.rose<sup>P</sup> / what / he.worked<sup>P</sup> / he  
 So what did he do?

Yaas yis d wuššen d wušša, yaabba-ten  
 at.him / horse<sup>FS</sup> / and / jackal<sup>AS</sup> / and / greyhound<sup>AS</sup> / he.raised<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>MDO</sup>.  
 He had a horse, a jackal and a greyhound, and he raised them (together).

uša yekkaa itiraa tšamma uħenžia-nni.  
 then / he.rose<sup>P</sup> / he.plays<sup>I</sup> / ball / boy<sup>AS</sup>-that  
 Then the boy started to play ball.

Yekkaa itiraa tšamma yalleh, yalleh, yalleh,  
 he.rose<sup>P</sup> / he.plays<sup>I</sup> / ball / come.on! / come.on! / come.on!  
 He played ball on and on and on,

yewta tšamma 'ttraaak'.  
 he.hit<sup>P</sup> / ball / ttrak  
 he hit the ball, ttraaak.

Iżżeñ twessaał waa-ssi iqeřb-as ċbuqmet  
 one / old.woman<sup>AS</sup> / don't.know / he.turned.over<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / kettle  
 An old woman, I don't know, he kicked over her kettle;

<sup>42</sup> On this construction, see section 13.5.

<sup>43</sup> The verb *qqim* 'to sit, to remain' is used with a following verb in the Imperfective as a durative auxiliary. In such contexts it means that the action goes on for a certain time. Different from similar constructions in European languages, it can be used to imply also the starting point of the enduring action, conveying 'he started to do something for a certain time'.

*tuya ttfewwąqə sek̥su, u̥a waa ssiney.*

PAST / she.steams<sup>1</sup> / couscous / or / not / I.know<sup>NP</sup>

She was steaming couscous (or I don't know [what she was doing exactly]).

*Iqeřb-as-t-id, tseyyh-as-d. Teffey-d:*

he.turned.over<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup>-hither / it<sup>F</sup>.spilled<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-hither / she.came.out<sup>P</sup>-hither  
He kicked it over and it spilled over, she came out:

- *A wi yeggin ammu a dawem-yewš....!!*

o / who / doing<sup>P</sup> / like.this / AD / you<sup>MPLIO</sup>-he.gives<sup>A</sup>

- The one that did that, may He give you<sup>44</sup> ...

*Ttedea, ttekkʷua. Nnan-as ihenzian nneyni:*

she.complains<sup>1</sup> / she.insults<sup>1</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / boys / other

She complains, she insults. The other boys told her:

- *A qa waa dži bu d neššin, a qa d fran.*

o / QA / not / is.not / not / PRED / we / o / QA / PRED / so-and-so

- It wasn't us, it was so-and-so.

*Tenn-as: - Mři ya ḥegged inadan i yemma-š*

she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / if / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.do<sup>A</sup> / good.deeds / to / mother-your<sup>MSG</sup>

She said: - Would that you had done good deeds to your mother!

*a qa srasenn-as iřeyman.*

o / QA / they<sup>M</sup>.make.herd<sup>1</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / camels

they let her herd camels.

*A qa tenni yaak a qa tseym-iš waha,*

o / QA / the.one<sup>F</sup> / at.you<sup>MSG</sup> / o / QA / she.raised<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / just.

The one that you have, she just raised you,

*a qa waa dži bu d yemma-š.*

o / QA / not / is.not / not / PRED / mother-your<sup>MSG</sup>

she is not your mother.

*Yqaggʷeh ixeyyeq,*

he.came.home<sup>P</sup> / he.was.bad-tempered<sup>P</sup>

He came home with a bad temper,

*a qa tenni t-yesseymen yeqqar-as yemma.*

o / QA / the.one<sup>F</sup> / him<sup>DO</sup>-raising<sup>F</sup> / he.says<sup>1</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / my.mother

you know he called the one that had raised him mother.

*Yenn-as: - A yemma a dayi-ṭegged šwayt uḥaqbid.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / o / my.mother / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.make<sup>A</sup> / little / [of] semolina.porridge<sup>AS</sup>

He said: - Mother, you must make some porridge for me.

*Yenn-as: - Maša a yemma a dayi-ṭegged šwayt n ddhen aḥuri dayes.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / but / o / my.mother / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.make<sup>A</sup> / little / of / butter / pure<sup>FS</sup> / in.it

He said: - But, mother, you should put some ghee in it.

*Tenn-as: - Wah a mmi.*

she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / yes / o / my.son

She said: - Okay, my son.

<sup>44</sup> The intended subject of this elliptic curse is God.

*Yenn-as: - Gg-it s uhus nnem.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / do!<sup>A</sup>-it<sup>M</sup> / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>PSG</sup>  
He said: - Do it with your hand.

*Yenn-as:*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>

He said:

- *Kemmi ya yey<sup>w</sup> waa t-id-tfarray ař dayi-t-tinid.*

when / AD / it<sup>M</sup>.boils<sup>A</sup> / not / it<sup>MDO</sup>-hither-you<sup>SG</sup>.pour<sup>!L</sup> / until / me<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.say<sup>A</sup>

- When it boils,<sup>45</sup> don't pour it out before you have told me.

*Yekkaa yey<sup>w</sup>a, tenn-as: - A mmi, yey<sup>w</sup>a.*

it<sup>M</sup>.rose<sup>P</sup> / it<sup>M</sup>.boiled<sup>P</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / o / my.son / it<sup>M</sup>.boils<sup>P</sup>

It boiled and she said: - My son, it is ready.

*Truh yaas tenn-as - Qa yey<sup>w</sup>a.*

she.went<sup>P</sup> / at.him / she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / QA / it<sup>M</sup>.boils<sup>P</sup>

She came to him and said: - It is ready.

*Yekkaa, tuyu yeqqim.*

he.rose<sup>P</sup> / PAST / he.sat<sup>P</sup>

He rose, he had been sitting.

*Truh yaas, ddhen-nni tekks-it-id s uhus nnes.*

she.went<sup>P</sup> / at.him / butter-that / she.took.out<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>-hither / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / her

She went to him, she took the butter out with her hand.

*Yenn-as: Kks-it-id s uhus nnem.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / take.out<sup>A</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>-hither / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>PSG</sup>

He said: - Take it out with your hand.

*Tekks-it-id s uhus nnes.*

she.took.out<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>-hither / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / her

She took it out with her hand.

*Yenn-as: - Gg-it s uhus nnem di teyduat-nni.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / do!<sup>A</sup>-it<sup>M</sup> / with / hand<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>PSG</sup> / in / pot<sup>AS</sup>-that

He said: - Put it with your hand into the pot.

*Nettat truh a t-tegg, netta yetif-as din fus.*

she / she.went<sup>P</sup> / AD / it<sup>M</sup>-she.does<sup>A</sup> / he / he.took<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / there / hand<sup>FS</sup>

She was about to do it, but he took her hand there. (scil. while in the pot)

*Yenn-as: - A dayi-tinid ma s tiolet šem d yemma,*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.say<sup>A</sup> / Q / with / truth / you<sup>PSG</sup> / PRED / my.mother

He said: - You must tell me, are you really my mother,

*ma yari ša n yemma nneyni?!*

Q / at.me / some / of / my.mother / other

or do I have another mother?

<sup>45</sup> The verb *yey<sup>w</sup>* can be translated as 'to boil, to cook, to be ready (food), to be ripe'. Both the translations 'to boil' and 'to be ready' would fit the context here.

*Tenn-as: - Wah a mmi aqa-t yaak.*

she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / yes / o / my.son / look-her<sup>DO</sup> / at.you<sup>MSG</sup>

She said: - Yes, my son, you do have (another mother).

*Aqa ha mameš, qa nešš kkiy ssenni tuyā tmeešeey.*

look / here.it.is / how / QA / I / I.passed<sup>P</sup> / by.there / PAST / I.beg<sup>I</sup>

This is how it is, I passed there, I was begging.

*Nnant-ayi: 'A qa ṭendar-it yemma-s ṭugi a t-tesyem.'*

they<sup>I</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / o / QA / she.threw<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / mother-his / she.refuses<sup>P</sup> / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>

she.raises<sup>A</sup>

They told me: 'She has thrown him away, his mother refuses to raise him'.

*Ysiy-šek, sseymey-šek.*

I.carried<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / I.raised<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup>

I took you with me and I raised you.

*Yenn-as: - Mani ṭedža?*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / where / she.is<sup>P</sup>

He said: - Where is she?

*Tenn-as: - Ddšaa-nni yeggʷež, attas n lmasafa.*

she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / village-that / it<sup>M</sup>.is.far<sup>P</sup> / much<sup>TS</sup> / of / distance

She said: - The village is far away, a big distance.

*Uša yeggʷua. Yetṭef ušen-nni.*

then / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / he.took<sup>P</sup> / jackal<sup>TS</sup>-that

Then he went. He took the jackal.

*Yenn-as: - A yaas rahey, a xas aazuy.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / AD / to.her / I.go<sup>A</sup> / AD / on.her / I.search<sup>A</sup>

He said: - I shall go to her, I shall search her.

*Uša yetṭef ušen iqāqan-it yaa wušša.*

then / he.took<sup>P</sup> / jackal<sup>TS</sup> / he.attached<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / at / greyhound<sup>AS</sup>

Then he took the jackal, and attached it to the greyhound.

*Uša yenza x ujis nnes.*

then / he.mounted<sup>P</sup> / on / horse<sup>AS</sup> / his

Then he mounted his horse.

*Yeggʷua yeggʷua yeggʷua, uša ḷarren-t yewdan.*

he.goes<sup>I</sup> / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / then / they<sup>M</sup>.see<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / people<sup>AS</sup>

He went, he went, he went, and the people saw him time and again,

*Uša a as-inin:*

then / AD / him<sup>IO</sup>-they<sup>M</sup>.say<sup>A</sup>

and would say:

- *Subḥanllah<sup>46</sup> uššen imun aked wušša!*

amazing<sup>I</sup> / jackal<sup>TS</sup> / he.is.together<sup>P</sup> / with / greyhound<sup>AS</sup>.

- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Lit. 'praise of God', an interjection used to convey surprise.

<sup>47</sup> Jackals and greyhounds are supposed to be each other's deadly enemy.

*Uša a as-yini netta:*

then / AD / him<sup>10</sup>-he.says<sup>A</sup> / he  
And he would say:

- *Subhanllah tenni yešin mmi-s man tammuat di tedža?*  
amazing! / the.one<sup>F</sup> / eating<sup>P</sup> / son-her / which / land<sup>FS</sup> / in / she.is<sup>P</sup>  
- Amazing! The one who ate her son, in which land is she?

*A as-inin:* - *Ruh a qa ntesřa xas!* Maša ruh yaa zzat!  
AD / him<sup>10</sup>-they<sup>M</sup>.say<sup>A</sup> / go!<sup>A</sup> / o / QA / we.hear<sup>I</sup> / on.her / but / go!<sup>A</sup> / to / forward  
and they would say: - Go, we heard about her. But go further.

*Yeqqim yegg<sup>W</sup>ua yegg<sup>W</sup>ua yegg<sup>W</sup>ua uhenžia-nni.*  
he.sat<sup>P</sup> / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / he.goes<sup>I</sup> / boy<sup>AS</sup>-that  
The boy kept on going and going and going.

*Wenni i kides ya yemseřqan a das-yini:*  
the.one<sup>M</sup> / that / with.him / AD / meeting<sup>A</sup> / AD / him<sup>10</sup>-he.says<sup>A</sup>  
Everyone that met him said:

- *Subhanllah uššen imun akeď wuššal!*  
amazing! / jackal<sup>FS</sup> / he.is.together<sup>P</sup> / with / greyhound<sup>AS</sup>  
- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.

*A das-yarr<sup>48</sup> netta:*  
AD / him<sup>10</sup>-he.gives.back<sup>A</sup> / he  
and he would answer:

- *Subhanllah tenni yešin mmi-s man tammuat di tedža?*  
amazing! / the.one<sup>F</sup> / eating<sup>P</sup> / son-her / which / country<sup>FS</sup> / in / she.is<sup>P</sup>  
- Amazing! The one who ate her son, in which country is she?

*Uša umi ya yuyua, ařmi yufa tenni mani taawes.*  
then / when / AD / he.goes<sup>A</sup> / until / he.found<sup>P</sup> / the.one<sup>F</sup> / where / she.hereded<sup>P</sup>  
So he went until he found her, where she herded.

*Uša nettař s uqemmum nnes tenn-as,*  
then / she / with / mouth<sup>AS</sup> / her / she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup>  
And she, with her proper mouth, said to him,

*nettař tenni umi srasen iřeyman, yemma-s-nni, tenn-as:*  
she / the.one<sup>F</sup> / to.whom / they<sup>M</sup>.make.herd<sup>I</sup> / camels / mother-his-that / she.said<sup>P</sup>-  
him<sup>10</sup>she, the one that they made herd camels, this mother of his, she said:

- *Subhanllah uššen imun akeď wuššal!*  
amazing! / jackal<sup>FS</sup> / he.is.together<sup>P</sup> / with / greyhound<sup>AS</sup>  
- Amazing!, a jackal goes together with a greyhound.

*Yenn-as netta:* - *Subhanllah a řalla,*  
he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>10</sup> / he / amazing! / o / mylady  
and he said: - Amazing, mylady!

*tenni yešin mmi-s man tammuat di tedža?*  
the.one<sup>F</sup> / eating<sup>P</sup> / son-her / which / country<sup>FS</sup> / in / she.is<sup>P</sup>  
The one who ate her son, in which country is she?

<sup>48</sup> The verb *arr* 'to give back' is regularly used in the sense of 'to answer'.

*Tenn-as: - D nešš a mmil*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / PRED / I / o / my.son  
 She said: - It's me, my son!<sup>49</sup>

*Tenn-as: - Ššiy mmi am waa t-ššiy.*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / I.ate<sup>P</sup> / my.son / like / not / him<sup>DO</sup>-I.ate<sup>NP</sup>  
 She said: - I have eaten my son like I did not eat him.

*Tenn-as: - Yaa qabbi waa ſſiy bu mmi, yaa ſeebd<sup>50</sup> ſſix-t.*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / at / Lord / not / I.ate<sup>NP</sup> / not / my.son / at / servant / I.ate<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>  
 She said: - As God concerns, I did not eat my son, as men concerns, I ate him.

*Uša yebda, ieawd-as. Teawd-as rqışa.*  
 then / he.started<sup>P</sup> / he.told<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / she.told<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / story  
 So he started and told her. She told him the story.

*Yeqqim kides ieawd-as marra min das-iweqeen,*  
 he.sat<sup>P</sup> / with.her / he.told<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / all / what / him<sup>IO</sup>-happening<sup>P</sup>  
 He sat down with her and told her everything that had happened to him,  
*min das-ggin, mant ssibba, mameš das-temsaa.*  
 what / him<sup>IO</sup>-they<sup>M</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / what / reason / how / him<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>F</sup>.happened<sup>P</sup>  
 what they had done to him, what was the reason, what had happened to him.

*Kuřši ieawd-as-t. Yekkaa yenn-as:*  
 everything / he.told<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M,DO</sup> / he.rose<sup>P</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>  
 He told her everything. Then he said:

*- Ma a kidem rahey yaa waayaz-nni nnem a dayi-yessens?*  
 q / AD / with.you<sup>FSG</sup> / I.go<sup>A</sup> / to / man<sup>AS</sup>-that / your<sup>FSG</sup> / AD / me<sup>DO</sup>-he.makes.pass.the.night<sup>A</sup>  
 - Can I go with you to that husband of yours, would he invite me for the night?

*Tenn-as nettat: - Wah a mmi, mařa texsed a trahed, a trahed.*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / she / yes / o / my.son / if / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>A</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>A</sup>  
 She said: - Okay, my son, if you want to go, you should go.

*Yenn-as: - A das-ttaay ttif-llah<sup>51</sup>.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / AD / him<sup>IO</sup>-beg<sup>A</sup> / hospitality  
 He said: - I will ask hospitality from him.

*Amezwaru tegg<sup>wed</sup>. Yenn-as:*  
 first<sup>MSG,FS</sup> / she.is.afraid<sup>P</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>  
 At first she was afraid. He said:

*- Šem izzaa, nešš a šem-d-dfaay.*  
 you<sup>FSG</sup> / go.first!<sup>!</sup> / I / AD / you<sup>FSG,DO</sup>-hither-I.follow<sup>A</sup>  
 - You go first, I shall follow you.

<sup>49</sup> *Mmi* 'my son' is to be understood here as an endearing address to a younger person, not implying family relationship.

<sup>50</sup> *ſeebd* is to be interpreted here in the religious sense of 'servant to God', i.e. 'human being'.

<sup>51</sup> From the Arabic expression *dif llah* 'guest of God'. In traditional Moroccan rural society, anyone asking hospitality by means of this formula had to be housed and fed for three days.

*Yaa izzaa ssšn-ayi taddaał waha.*  
 only / go.first!^ / show!^ -me<sup>IO</sup> / house / just  
 Just go first and show me the house.

*Uša yendeh yis nnes, yiwi kis uššen akeq wušša.*  
 then / he.guided<sup>P</sup> / horse<sup>FS</sup> / his / he.brought<sup>P</sup> / with.him / jackal<sup>FS</sup> / with / greyhound<sup>AS</sup>  
 He guided his horse, he took with him the jackal and the greyhound.

*Ggʷuan. Iwđen yaa taddaał.*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.go<sup>I</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.arrived<sup>P</sup> / at / house  
 They went a long time. They arrived at the house.

*Tenn-as: - Aq-aš da ižen yaazzu xak.*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / look!-you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup> / here / one<sup>M</sup> / he.searches<sup>I</sup> / on.you<sup>MSG</sup>  
 She said: - There is someone here that is looking for you.

*Yeffey užedžid-nni, a qa d ažedžid. Yeffey, yenn-as:*  
 he.went.out<sup>P</sup> / king<sup>AS</sup>-that / o / QA / PRED / king<sup>FS</sup> / he.went.out<sup>P</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 The king came out, it was a king. He came out and said:

- *Min š-d-yešqan?*  
 what / you<sup>MSG:DO</sup>-hither-be.of.interest<sup>P</sup>  
 - What has brought you here?

*Yenn-as: - Ttaay yaak ttif-llah,*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / I.begged<sup>P</sup> / at.you<sup>MSG</sup> / hospitality.  
 He said: - I ask for hospitality,

*a dayi-tessensed nhar-a mařa yexs wuř nneš.*  
 AD / me<sup>DO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.make.pass.the.night<sup>A</sup> / day-this / if / it<sup>M</sup>.wants<sup>P</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>MSG</sup>  
 you should invite me for the night today, if your heart wants.

*Yenn-as: - Marħbal Aqa-šek yari d anewži!*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / welcome / look-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / at.me / PRED / guest<sup>FS</sup>  
 He said: - Welcome! You are my guest.

*Uša yenn-as netta: - Adef.*  
 then / he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / he / go.in!<sup>A</sup>  
 Then he said: - Come in!

*Yessidf-it yeqqn-as yis-nni.*  
 he.let.in<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / he.tied<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / horse<sup>FS</sup>-that  
 He let him in, he tied for him the horse.

*Ušša-nni d wuššen-nni yeqqn-itēn ttaaqfi uyiš nsen.*  
 greyhound<sup>FS</sup>-that / and / jackal<sup>AS</sup>-that / he.tied<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup> / next / to / horse<sup>AS</sup> / their<sup>M</sup>  
 He attached the greyhound and the jackal at the side of their horse.

*Yegg-itēn akides, Udfen.*  
 he.put<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup> / with.him / they<sup>M</sup>.went.in<sup>P</sup>  
 He put them with him. They went in.

*Yudef, yessidf-it, yegg-it, a qa d anewži.*  
 he.went.in<sup>P</sup> / he.let.in<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / he.made<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup> / o / QA / PRED / guest<sup>FS</sup>  
 He went in, he let him in, he did it, he was his guest.

*Yenn-as: - Aqa-š yari d anewži,*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / look-you<sup>MSGDO</sup> / at.me / PRED / guest<sup>FS</sup>  
 He said: - You are my guest,

*marħba, aqa-š yari d anewži.*  
 welcome / look-you<sup>MSGDO</sup> / at.me / PRED / guest<sup>FS</sup>  
 welcome, you are my guest.

*Uša ieawd-as, yenn-as:*  
 then / he.told<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 Then he said to him:

- *Mayemmi teggim i tayya-yin amenni,*  
 why / you<sup>MPL</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / to / slave.woman-over.there / thus  
 - Why did you do thus to that slave woman over there,  
*mayemmi das-teggim amenni?*  
 why / her<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>MPL</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / thus  
 Why did you do so?

*Yenn-as: - Qa tenni, ah ya mmi, mři daš ya iniy.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / QA / that.one<sup>F</sup> / woel / o / my.son / if / you<sup>MSGDO</sup> / AD / I.say<sup>A</sup>  
 He said: - That one, oh my son, if I would tell you.

*Yenn-as: - Ttaqk-ayi zeg wamžiwen, qa tenni tesson-ayi mmil*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / leave!<sup>A</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / from / ogres<sup>AS</sup> / QA / that.one<sup>F</sup> / she.ate<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / my.son  
 He said: - Keep me away from ogres, she has eaten my son.

*Sweždent amensi, sweždent kuřsi,*  
 they<sup>F</sup>.prepared<sup>P</sup> / dinner<sup>FS</sup> / they<sup>F</sup>.prepared<sup>P</sup> / everything  
 They prepared dinner, they prepared everything,  
*tayywin řayant xas.*  
 slave.women / they<sup>F</sup>.called<sup>P</sup>-hither / on.him.  
 the slave women called him.<sup>52</sup>

*Yeysi amensi.*  
 he.carried<sup>P</sup> / dinner<sup>FS</sup>  
 He took the dinner.

*Yenn-as: - A aš-ggey ižž usutaa.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / AD / you<sup>MSGDO</sup>-I.do<sup>A</sup> / one<sup>M</sup> / demand<sup>AS</sup>  
 He said: - I want to ask you something.

*Yenn-as: - Suťaa, nešš ad ggey!*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / demand!<sup>A</sup> / I / AD / I.do<sup>A</sup>  
 He said: - Ask, and I shall do it for you.

*Yenn-as: - Ma a težžed tayya-yin*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / Q / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.leave<sup>A</sup> / slave.woman-over.there  
 He said: - Would you allow that slave woman

<sup>52</sup> When there is a guest, it is fitting that the women remain in the kitchen, and that the host gets the plate from the kitchen. Of course, this is not the way it would work in a palace, and the storyteller seems to envisage a situation in which dinner is cooked by the family rather than by servants.

*a d-tqarreb yaa wendu*<sup>53</sup> *a kidi tešš?*  
 AD / hither-she.comes.near<sup>A</sup> / at / basket<sup>AS</sup> / AD / with.me / she.eats<sup>A</sup>  
 to come closer to the basket and eat with me?

*Yenn-as: - Ah ya mmi, ttąqk-aš zeg wamziwen.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / woe! / o / my.son / leave!<sup>A</sup>-you<sup>MSGIO</sup> / from / ogres<sup>AS</sup>.  
 He said - Woe, my son, keep me away from ogres.

*Tin tešš-ayi mmi.*  
 that.one.over.there<sup>F</sup> / she.ate<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / my.son  
 She has eaten my son.

*Ieawd-as tanyana.*  
 he.repeated<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / second.time /  
 He said it once more.

*Yenn-as: - Umi t-tessuṭaad, d wenni netta.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / when / it<sup>M</sup>-you.demand<sup>P</sup> / PRED / that.one<sup>M</sup> / he  
 He said: - If you ask it, that's what it is.

*Yesqarrb-it-id a kisen tešš.*  
 he.made.come.near<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>PO</sup>-hither / AD / with.them<sup>M</sup> / she.eats<sup>A</sup>  
 He let her come closer so that she would eat with them.

*Tqarreb-d s ušaššu nmes amenni, s yiřem,*  
 she.came.near<sup>P</sup>-hither / with / wooden.frame<sup>AS</sup> / her / thus / with.hide<sup>AS</sup>  
 She came closer with her wooden frame of a sieve, with the hide

*Hedd yeqqar-as šaššu, hedd yeqqar-as iřem.*  
 somebody / he.says<sup>I</sup>-it<sup>IO</sup> / wooden.frame<sup>FS</sup> / somebody / he.says<sup>I</sup>-it<sup>IO</sup> / hide<sup>FS</sup>.  
 (Some say it was a wooden frame, others say it was a hide).

*Tesqarrb-it-id, tebda ttett kis.*  
 she.made.come.near<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>PO</sup>-hither / she.started<sup>P</sup> / she.eats<sup>I</sup> / with.him  
 She made him come closer, she started to eat with him.<sup>54</sup>

*Uša yebda yeteawad-as.*  
 then / he.started<sup>P</sup> / he.tells<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 Then he started to speak to him again:

*Yenn-as: - Mameš temsaa a mmi?*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / how / it<sup>F</sup>.happened<sup>P</sup> / o / my.son  
 He said: - What happened, my son?

*Yenn-as: - Iwyey qedda n temyarin, iżż nnħaq ruħent...*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / I.brought<sup>P</sup> / number / of / women<sup>AS</sup> / one / day / they<sup>F</sup>.went<sup>P</sup>  
 He said: - I married a number of women, one day they went...

*Ieawd-as ḫqiṣa manis kkint, manis ffyent.*  
 he.told<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / story / whence / they<sup>F</sup>.passed<sup>P</sup> / whence / they<sup>F</sup>.went.out<sup>P</sup>  
 He told him the story how it had all happened (lit. how they had passed, how they had gone out).

<sup>53</sup> This is a flat round basket in which the pan with food is put.

<sup>54</sup> One would have expected the opposite situation: 'he made her come closer'. This may be a *lapsus* by the storyteller. Alternatively, the direct object pronoun could refer to *andu* 'basket' and mean that she drew the basket closer to her. This does not seem to make much sense in the context, however.

*Yenn-as: - Iwyex-t, tenn-as:*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / I.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup>  
He said: - I married her, she had said:

'Mařa yiwy-ayi ƀab n yiyyar-a  
if / he.brings<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / possessor / of / field<sup>AS</sup>-this  
'If the master of this field marries me

*a das-d-žzey mmi-s yaas t̄iyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat'.*

AD / him<sup>10</sup>-hither-1.leave<sup>A</sup> / son-his / at.him / pearl<sup>PS</sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup>  
I will give him a son with a golden pearl on his forehead.'

*Yenn-as: - Iwyex-t težž-ayi-t-id.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / I.brought<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / she.left<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>10</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>-hither  
He said: - I married her and she gave birth to him.

*Faqhey ieežb-ayi řhař. Yaa uneggaru tešš-ayi-t.*

I.rejoiced<sup>P</sup> / it<sup>M</sup>.pleased-me<sup>10</sup> / situation / at / last<sup>AS</sup> / she.ate<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>10</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>  
I was happy, I was very pleased. In the end she has eaten him.

*Yenn-as: - Mameš yegga?*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / how / he.is.like<sup>P</sup>  
He said: - What was he like?

*Yenn-as: - Yaas t̄iyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / at.him / pearl<sup>PS</sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup>  
He said: - He had a golden pearl on his forehead.

*Yaas qaćeа īduđan, ineqs-as ižzen.*

at.him / four / [of] fingers / it<sup>M</sup>.is.lacking<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / one<sup>M</sup>  
He had four fingers, one of which was lacking.

*Yenn-as: - I mařa ssešneyy-aš mmi-š, min ya tegged?*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / and / if / I.showed<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>M:SG:10</sup> / son-your<sup>M:SG</sup> / what / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.do<sup>A</sup>  
He said: - And if I show you your son, what shall you do?

*Yenn-as: - Suṭaa uša t̄effed. Ieawd-as: - Suṭaa uša t̄effed.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / demand!<sup>A</sup> / then / you.hold<sup>A</sup> / he.repeated<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / demand!<sup>A</sup> / then / you.hold<sup>A</sup>

He said: - Ask and you will get it, ask and you will get it.

*Yenn-as: - Mameš yegga mmi-š-nni?*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / how / he.is.like<sup>P</sup> / son-your<sup>M:SG</sup>-that  
He said: - What is your son like?

*leawd-as yenn-as: - Yaas t̄iyuqit n wuqy di tenyiat,*

he.told<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup> / at.him / pearl<sup>PS</sup> / of / gold<sup>AS</sup> / in / forehead<sup>AS</sup>  
He told him: - He had a golden pearl on his forehead,

*yaas qaćeа īduđan, ižž ineqs-as.*

at.him / four / [of] fingers / one<sup>M</sup> / it<sup>M</sup>.is.lacking<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>10</sup>  
and four fingers, one of which was lacking.

*Yenn-as: - Aqa-š d wenni i dayi-ixessen.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / look-you<sup>M:SG:DO</sup> / PRED / the.one<sup>M</sup> / that / me<sup>IO</sup>-needing<sup>P</sup>  
He said: - Look, here is the one that I miss.

*Yesseš-as t̄iřet̄et̄-nni, yufa yaas q̄abea.*

he.showed<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / little.finger<sup>FS</sup>-that / he.found<sup>P</sup> / at.him / four  
He showed him the little finger, and he saw that there were only four (fingers).

*Yekkes arrezzet, tewta tfawkt, t̄iyuqit-nni n wuq.*

he.took.away<sup>P</sup> / turban / it<sup>F</sup>.hit<sup>P</sup> / light / pearl<sup>FS</sup>-that / of / gold<sup>AS</sup>  
He took off his turban, and a light shined, this golden pearl.

*Uša idarre-as i mimi-s. B̄dan trun.*

then / he.embraced<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / to / son-his / they<sup>M</sup>.started<sup>P</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.weep<sup>I</sup>  
Then he embraced his son. They started to cry.

*Netta yetru, nettat tetru, netta yetru baba-s.*

he / he.weeps<sup>I</sup> / she / she.weeps<sup>I</sup> / he / he.weeps<sup>I</sup> / father-his

He was crying, she was crying, he, his father, was crying.

*Ar̄ami hayan.*

until / they<sup>M</sup>.got.tired<sup>P</sup>

Until they got tired.

*Yessehma-yas aman i yemma-s, yekks-as šaššu-nni.*

he.heated<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / water<sup>FS</sup> / to / mother-his / he.took.away<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / wooden.frame<sup>FS</sup>-that  
He heated water for his mother and took off the wooden frame.

*Yenn-as: - Tt̄aqk-as, waa das-neqqaq ša.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / leave<sup>I</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / not / her<sup>IO</sup>-we.say<sup>NI</sup> / not  
He said: 'Let us not tell her.'

*Ir̄uh yet̄tes ak yemma-s,*

he.went<sup>P</sup> / he.slept<sup>P</sup> / with / mother-his

He went to sleep together with his mother.

*yessehma-yas aman, yessiad-as, yekks-as šaššu-nni.*

he.heated<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / water<sup>FS</sup> / he.washed<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / he.took.away<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / hide<sup>FS</sup>-that  
He heated water for her, he washed her, he took off the hide.

*Uša yenn-as: - Ma a dayi-tewšed t̄ina, tašniwin-a,*

then / he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / Q / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.give<sup>A</sup> / these<sup>F</sup> / co-wives-these

Then he said to him: - Would you give me these, these other women

*i yiraan zeg yemma*

that / playing<sup>P</sup> / from / my.mother.

that have played a trick on my mother

*a zaysent iraay mameš iraant zeg yemma?*

AD / from.them / I.play<sup>A</sup> / how / they<sup>F</sup>.played<sup>P</sup> / from / my.mother

so that I will play with them the way they played with my mother?

*Yenn-as: - A mmi aq-aš-tent, Gg-asent min texsed.*

he.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / o / my.son / look-you<sup>M:SG:DO</sup>-them<sup>F:DO</sup> / do!<sup>I</sup>-them<sup>F:IO</sup> / what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup>

He said - My son, here they are. Do to them whatever you want.

*Yettf-asent yesmun-asent imuzaan, ašeeeuā.*  
 he.took<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>IO</sup> / he.brought.together<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>FO</sup> / locks / hair<sup>FS</sup>  
 He took and tied together their locks, their hair.

*Imud-it yaa unewwāqā uyis.*  
 he.braided<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>M:DO</sup> / at / tail<sup>AS</sup> / [of] horse<sup>AS</sup>  
 He braided it together with the tail of the horse.

*Uša yettf-as uša yeqqn-it yaa unewwāqā uyis nnes.*  
 then / he.took<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / then / he.tied<sup>P</sup>-her<sup>DO</sup> / at / tail<sup>AS</sup> / [of] horse<sup>AS</sup> / his  
 Then he took it, he attached it to the tail of his horse.

*Uša yewtā deg uyis.*  
 then / he.hit<sup>P</sup> / in / horse<sup>AS</sup>  
 Then he slapped the horse.

*Yessaqwet,<sup>55</sup> din iżżeen ļeedet dayes tazeggwaat.*  
 he.threshed<sup>P</sup> / there / one / slope / in.it / shrub<sup>FS</sup>  
 He threshed, there was there a slope with shrubs.

*Yeqqim yessaqwat xasent,*  
 he.sat<sup>P</sup> / he.threshes<sup>I</sup> / on.them<sup>F</sup>  
 He threshed a long time with them.

*yessaqwat, yeššat, yeššat deg uyis-nni.*  
 he.threshes<sup>I</sup> / he.hits<sup>I</sup> / he.hits<sup>I</sup> / in / horse<sup>AS</sup>-that  
 He threshed, he slapped, he slapped the horse,

*Itazzer uyis-nni ařmi das-yeqqim illa ušewwaf-nni deg unewwāq-nni uyis.*  
 he.runs<sup>I</sup> / horse<sup>AS</sup>-that / until / her<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>.remained<sup>P</sup> / only / hairs<sup>AS</sup> / in / tail<sup>AS</sup>-that / [of] horse<sup>AS</sup>  
 the horse ran until only the hair remained at the tail of the horse.

*Aysum nsent marra yeqqim-asent x tazeggwaat.*  
 flesh<sup>FS</sup> / their<sup>F</sup> / all / it<sup>M</sup>.remained<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>FO</sup> / on / shrub<sup>AS</sup>  
 All their flesh was left behind on the shrubs.

*Uša t ta d nettał. Ař danita. Tekmeř tħażiżit.*  
 then / PRED / this / PRED / she / until / here / it<sup>F</sup>.is.finished<sup>P</sup> / story  
 Then that is it. Until here. The story is finished.

### 18.3 Part of a sermon in Tarifiyt by the preacher Tariq ibn Ali

This is a transcript of part of a sermon by Tariq ibn Ali published on youtube.com about the dangers of secular music, and at the same time an explanation of the right way to admonish people.<sup>56</sup>

*ruhey yaa yinni yezznuzan muzika.*  
 I.went<sup>P</sup> / to / those<sup>M</sup> / selling<sup>I</sup> / music  
 I went to those who sell music.

<sup>55</sup> Threshing is done by making animals walk rounds on the threshing floor dragging a threshing device. In this case, the word ssaqwet is to be understood as 'making rounds with an animal, while dragging something'.

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PC8pjwZu7Fc>: 6:34-8:42.

*tadfe� yaa thuna.*  
1.go.in<sup>1</sup> / to / shops<sup>AS</sup>  
I went to the shops.

*ša n marrat nešš d umeddukeř inu,*  
some / of / times / I / and / friend<sup>AS</sup> / my  
Sometimes together with a friend

*uša ntegg-asen ddeewa,<sup>57</sup> nessawař akisen.*  
then / we.do<sup>1</sup>-them<sup>MDO</sup> / admonition / we.speak<sup>1</sup> / with.them<sup>M</sup>  
we admonished them, we admonished them, we talked to them.

*nessfehham-itēn min teggen.*  
we.explain<sup>1</sup>-them<sup>MDO</sup> / what / they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>1</sup>  
We explained what they were doing.

*nekk-itent-id mmarra, mmarra min din di nnađuq t thanet illa<sup>58</sup> nuh yaas.*  
we.pass<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>FPL</sup>-hither / all / all / what / there / in / Nador / PRED / shop / only / we.go<sup>P</sup> / to.it  
We went to all the shops, we went to all the shops in Nador.

*nessiweř akisen. řebčad ntaf d ixeddamen waha.*  
we.spoke<sup>P</sup> / with.them<sup>M</sup> / some / we.find<sup>1</sup> / PRED / workers / just  
We talked to them. Some of them were just working there.

*iqqar-aš qa nešš xeddmey waha.*  
he.says<sup>1</sup>-you<sup>MSGIO</sup> / QA / I / I.work<sup>1</sup> / just  
They say we just work here.

*uuzu řxedmet nneynil t tanežzaat, mikaniku, řebni.*  
search!<sup>A</sup> / work / other / PRED / carpenting<sup>F5</sup> / mechanics / building  
Find another job! As a carpenter, a mechanic, in construction.

*teellem ša n şseneet, ruh gg-it.*  
learn!<sup>A</sup> / some / of / craft / go!<sup>A</sup> / do!<sup>A</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup>  
Learn some craft and do it.

*šekk tezznuzid muzika, a?*  
you<sup>MSG</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.sell<sup>1</sup> / music / hey  
You are selling music, hel!

*ssemm, tezznuzid lalla-buya<sup>59</sup> n şşdih.*  
poison / you<sup>SG</sup>.sell<sup>1</sup> / music / of / dancing  
Poison, you are selling dance music.

*mmarra wi ya yfellsen di l'umma l'l'islam ad yiři di şşahifa nneš.*  
all / who / AD / failing<sup>A</sup> / in / community / of / Islam / AD / he.is<sup>A</sup> / in / leaf / your<sup>MSG</sup>  
All the people that will fail in the Islamic community will be written in Your Book.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *ddeewa* is a conversation about religious subjects as part of missionary work. As they mostly concern warnings against unislamic behavior, we have translated the term here as 'admonition'.

<sup>58</sup> *illa* 'only' is an insertion from Standard Arabic.

<sup>59</sup> *Lalla buya* refers to a rhyme which is used in traditional singing in the Rif. In a non-traditional context it refers to recorded music which uses modern instruments.

*a š-iħaseb arebbi-lealamin xas yawm-lqiyama.*

AD / you<sup>MSG:DO</sup>-he.holds.responsible<sup>A</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds./ on.it / day.of.resurrection  
God<sup>61</sup> will take you into account for it on Judgement Day.

*lmuhimm, nħħura nħħura, aħħami nufa patrun.*

anyway / we.go.around<sup>I</sup> / we.go.around<sup>I</sup> / until / we.found<sup>P</sup> / boss  
Anyway, we were walking around until we found the boss.

*patrun ameqqrān nsen.*

boss<sup>TS</sup> / big<sup>MSG:FS</sup> / their<sup>M</sup>

The big boss.

*qa yaas waa-ssi šħaa n tħuna qae.*

QA / at.him / don't.know / how.many / of / shops<sup>AS</sup> / entirely  
He has a lot of shops.

*sedžmey xas, ggħi kis ladab, tħadha.*

I.greeted<sup>P</sup> / on.him / I.did<sup>P</sup> / with.him / courtesy / laughing<sup>TS</sup>  
I greeted him, treated him with courtesy and laughs.

*ixešxa wənni yessawaṛen di ddin ħebda*

it<sup>M</sup>.is.necessary<sup>P</sup> / the.one<sup>M</sup> / speaking<sup>I</sup> / in / religion / always  
He who talks about religion should always

*ad yessawaṛ ak yewdān di ddin s arreħmet,*

AD / he.speaks<sup>I</sup> / with / people<sup>AS</sup> / in / religion / with / compassion  
talk with the people about religion with compassion,

*waa dži lu s wešraf n tenyaat.*

not / is.not / not / with / tying<sup>AS</sup> / of / forehead<sup>AS</sup>  
and not with a frown on the forehead.

*ddeewa, wənni yessawaṛen di ddin*

admonition / the.one<sup>M</sup> / speaking<sup>I</sup> / in / religion  
Admonition, he who talks about religion

*ħebda s lħikma d llin d arreħmet.*

always / with / wisdom / and / tenderness / and / compassion  
– always with wisdom and tenderness and compassion.

*šekk egg min xaš, belley, a,*

you<sup>MSG</sup> / do!<sup>A</sup> / what / on.you<sup>MSG</sup> / communicate!<sup>A</sup> / hey /  
You just do what you must do, communicate,

*iteħbe-iš d wənni, yegħi aħħaray d wənni,*

he.followed<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / PRED / that<sup>M</sup> / he.did<sup>P</sup> / opinion / PRED / that<sup>M</sup>  
if he follows you, it's fine, if he does what you want, that's fine,

*waa yegħi ša, šekk teggid min xaš.*

not / he.did<sup>NP</sup> / not / you<sup>MSG</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / what / on.you<sup>MSG</sup>  
if he does not, you have done your duty.

<sup>60</sup> This refers to the book in which all deeds are kept account of, and which will inform the verdict on Judgement Day.

<sup>61</sup> Literally: The Lord of the worlds. This is a Coranic Arabic expression, used among others in the first Sura.

*li'anna aṭṭaṣ n ššaḥab yetxellat.*

because / much<sup>FS</sup> / of / youth / he.mixes.up<sup>1</sup>

Because a lot of young people confuse things.

*yeqqar-aš: 'lla, qa teggʷdem', lla, lla!*

he.says<sup>1</sup>-you<sup>MSG:IO</sup> / no / QA / you<sup>MSG:PL</sup>.are.afraid<sup>1</sup> / no / no

They say 'you are afraid', no, no.

*ddeewa yaas mameš ya tegged, lžihad yaas weħħed.*

admonition / at.it / how / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.do<sup>A</sup> / holy.war / at.it / alone

For admonition there is a way that you do it, and for the jihad there is another way.

*maydanu-lžihad a tsseħħaad dinni zżhed d fuarma,*

arena.of.the.holy.war / AD / you.show<sup>A</sup> / there / strength / and / fitness

In the arena of the jihad you must show your muscles,

*apatsi d a, kalašnikuf.*

Apache / and / ehh / Kalashnikov

Apache helicopters, Kalashnikovs.

*maṛa aqq-š di lžihad a tewted ḫexdenni, a tħahded,*

if / look-you<sup>MSG:DO</sup> / in / holy.war / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.hit<sup>A</sup> / then / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.fight<sup>A</sup>

If you are in the jihad then you must shoot, you must do the jihad,

*walakin ak yaytra-š di temzyida, ak yewdan di ššarie,*

but / with / brothers<sup>AS</sup>-your<sup>MSG</sup> / in / mosque<sup>AS</sup> / with / people<sup>AS</sup> / in / street

but with your brothers in the mosque, or with people in the street:

*lħikma s arrehmet,*

wisdom / with / compassion

wisdom and compassion.

*ddeewa s arrehmet d lħikma*

admonition / with / compassion / and / wisdom

Admonition with wisdom and compassion

*baš waa ntxelliż ša ak ša.*

so.that / not / we.mix.up<sup>NI</sup> / some / with / some

so that we don't mix things up.

*waa dži ddeewa a t-narr a nšaaf tħanyaat,*

not / is.not / admonition / AD / it<sup>FDO</sup>-we.render<sup>A</sup> / AD / we.tie<sup>A</sup> / forehead<sup>FS</sup>

Admonition is not frowning your forehead

*a nteesseb x yewdan*

AD / we.get.angry<sup>1</sup> / on / people<sup>AS</sup>

and becoming angry towards people:

*'lla, mayemmi teggid ta, mayemmi teggid ta.'*

no / why / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>F</sup> / this<sup>F</sup> / why / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>F</sup> / this<sup>F</sup>

'No! Why have you done this, why have you done that?'

*lla, lħikma d arrehmet.*

no / wisdom / and / compassion

No, wisdom and compassion.

*qqimey ssawařey akis uša ieežb-as řhař,*  
 I.sat<sup>P</sup> / I.speak<sup>L</sup> / with.him / then / it<sup>M</sup>.pleased<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / situation  
 I kept on talking to him and he liked it,

*umi kis ssiwřey s ladab d l̥hikma.*  
 when / with.him / I.spoke<sup>P</sup> / with / courtesy / and / wisdom  
 because it talked to him with courtesy and wisdom.

*ieežb-as řhař yenn-ayi:*  
 it<sup>M</sup>.pleased<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / situation / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup>  
 He liked it and said:

*‘aqqah a neqqim da, aqq-š yaa řqehwa dí bárra*  
 come! / AD / we.sit<sup>A</sup> / here / look-you<sup>MSGDO</sup> / at / café / in / outside  
 ‘Come, let’s sit over here, in the café outside,

*a xáš xedžsey leašir.*  
 AD / on.you<sup>MSG</sup> / I.pay<sup>A</sup> / juice  
 I will buy you some juice.'

*iwa nniy-as mxiiyyaq, furşa ḥanita baš a kis harrdey mlih.*  
 well / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / okay / chance / this<sup>L</sup> / so.that / AD / with.him / I.talk<sup>A</sup> / well  
 I thought: this is even better, this is a chance to talk to him well.

*iwa qqimey akis yeqqim yetharred akidi.*  
 well / I.sat<sup>P</sup> / with.him / he.sat<sup>P</sup> / he.talks<sup>L</sup> / with.me  
 So I sat with him and he talked with me.

*baš a tessnem a wma ynu ieizzen,*  
 so.that / AD / you<sup>MPL</sup>.know<sup>A</sup> / o / my.brother / my / being.beloved<sup>P</sup>  
 So that you know my dear brother,

*ąazem mlih imežzan nneš.*  
 open!<sup>A</sup> / well / ears / your<sup>MSG</sup>  
 open yours ears well.

*ařmi ya kemmr̥ey nešš řhaad inu a yenna-ayi ‘a wma ynu.’*  
 until / AD / I.finish<sup>A</sup> / I / talk / my / o / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / o / brother / my  
 When I had said what I wanted to say, he said: ‘O my brother.’

*yarebbi hda-t, init amin, yarebbi ſeřh-it,*  
 o.God / guide!<sup>A</sup>-him<sup>MDO</sup> / say!<sup>A,MPL</sup> / amen / o.God / improve!<sup>A</sup>-him<sup>DO</sup>  
 O God, guide him, say ‘Amen’,<sup>62</sup> o God make him righteous,

*yarebbi beddř-as muzika-nni marr̥a yaa ša n řhažet nneyni tšeřeh,*  
 o.God / change!<sup>A</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / music-that / all / to / some / of.thing / other / it<sup>F</sup>.is.good<sup>P</sup>  
 o God change for him all that music into something else that is good,

*init amin.*  
 say!<sup>A,MPL</sup> / amen  
 say ‘Amen’.

<sup>62</sup>This is addressed to the audience of the sermon.

*a yenn-ayi: 'šekk teggid... teggid řehsab bi-yaa<sup>63</sup> i muzika,*  
 o / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / you<sup>M:SG</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / consideration / with.only / to / music  
 He said: 'You only took into consideration the music,

*i šenšuna d leud d lalla-buya. 'nniy-as: 'i?'*  
 to / tambourine / and / lute / and / lalla.buya / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / and  
 the tambourin, the lute and *lalla buya*. I said: 'And?'

*ha yenn-ayi dinni ead ktqa.*  
 here! / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / there / still / more  
 He said: 'There is much more!'

*yenn-ayi waa dinni bu lfužzaa*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / not / there / not / libertines  
 He said: 'There are no greater libertines'

- ſexxu netta yeqqaan a, wenni yezznuzan, wenni dasen-yeteemmaan -'  
 now / he / saying<sup>I</sup> / hey / the.one<sup>M</sup> / selling<sup>I</sup> / the.one<sup>M</sup> / them<sup>M:IO</sup>-filling<sup>I</sup>  
 - now, he is telling this, he, the seller, the one who records them -

*yenn-ayi 'waa din bu tqawa n rēhram ktqa zegg inni yetyennžen.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / not / there / not / children / of / forbidden / more / from / those<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>I</sup>  
 he said: 'There are no greater evildoers (lit. bastards) than singers.'

*puřki netta yessn-iten mmarra.*  
 because / he / he.knows<sup>P</sup>-them<sup>M:DO</sup> / all  
 Because he knows them all.

*yenn-ayi lmanakir i teggen waa tent-itegg qae hedd.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / sins / that / they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>I</sup> / not / them<sup>F</sup>-he.does<sup>I</sup> / entirely / somebody  
 He said: 'The sins they commit, nobody (else) commits them.'

*min waa yehřin i teggen uša yeqqim yetcawad-ayi.*  
 what / not / being.good<sup>NP</sup> / that / they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>I</sup> / then / he.sat<sup>P</sup> / he.tells<sup>I</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup>  
 They do everything that is bad,' and he kept telling me.

*řbead a ten-d-iniy, řbead waa zemmaay a ten-d-iniy, ssedhiy.*  
 some / AD / them<sup>M:DO</sup>-hither-I.say<sup>A</sup> / some / not / I.can<sup>NP</sup> / AD / them<sup>M:DO</sup>-hither-I.say<sup>A</sup> /  
 I.am.ashamed<sup>P</sup>  
 Some of the things I can tell them, others I can't, I'm ashamed.

*da iwdan yaasen taešmaat t tašemřatc,*  
 there / people<sup>FS</sup> / at.them<sup>M</sup> / beard<sup>FS</sup> / PRED / white<sup>F:SG:FS</sup>  
 There are people here who have a white beard,

*uša fehmet nnit, nehřa ma kemmřey-awem.*  
 then / understand<sup>A:MP:PL</sup> / by.self / unnecessary / that / I.finished<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>M:PL:IO</sup>  
 so you understand yourselves what I mean, I do not need to tell everything.

*di zzina rräqem-llewwel, di lfawahiš rräqem-llewwel.*  
 in / adultery / number.one / in / fornication / number.one  
 In adultery they are the champions, in fornication they are the champions.

<sup>63</sup> The use of *bi-* is an insertion from Standard Arabic. The sentence would be better Berber when using only *yaa*.

*min xedmen, manaya qa nżarr-it s tiġġawin nney,*  
 what / they<sup>M</sup>.work<sup>L</sup> / this / Q<sub>A</sub> / we.see<sup>L</sup>.it<sup>M,DO</sup> / with / eyes / our  
 What they do, I have seen it with my own eyes,

*mayemmi nešš ħeṭṭaay g wuraan attas.*  
 why / 1 / I.am.present<sup>L</sup> / in / weddings<sup>AS</sup> / much<sup>FS</sup>  
 because I attend a lot of weddings.

*inni yetyennžen yaa temyarin.*  
 the.ones<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>L</sup> / at / women<sup>AS</sup>  
 Those who sing among the women.

*inni yetyennžen yaa temyarin di şala!*  
 the.ones<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>L</sup> / at / women<sup>AS</sup> / in / room  
 Those who sing in the women's room!

*tařiq aqq-eṭ yaa yaayazen itegg lhadit.*  
 Tariq / look-him<sup>DO</sup> / at / men<sup>AS</sup> / he.does<sup>L</sup> / prophetic.Traditions  
 Tariq<sup>64</sup> is with the men telling them about the hadith.

*a tmeneed x užedžif, a neqqim hayaa.*  
 AD / you.withhold<sup>A</sup> / on / head<sup>AS</sup> / AD / we.sit<sup>A</sup> / astonished  
 You would put your hands on your head, we should be astonished.

*man zzaman i di nteiš?*  
 which / time / that / in / we.live<sup>L</sup>  
 What kind of time are we living in?

*ařami iżż umaq nniy-as i ħab n wuraa*  
 until / one / time<sup>AS</sup> / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / to / master / of / wedding<sup>AS</sup>  
 Once I said to the one who organized the wedding:

*Ilah ya weddi, yaawem danita inni yetyennžen yaa temyarin.*  
 by.God / o / my.friend / with.you<sup>M,PL</sup> / here / the.ones<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>L</sup> / at / women<sup>AS</sup>  
 'What? You have singers here singing among the women.'

*yenn-ayi: 'nešš waa ssiney min itewqieen.'*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / 1 / not / I.know<sup>NP</sup> / what / happening<sup>L</sup>  
 He said: 'I don not know what is happening.'

*yenn-ayi: 'nešš meelik ssney ma a š-d-ċaađey da yari yaa wuraa?'*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / 1 / if / I.know<sup>P</sup> / Q<sub>A</sub> / AD / you<sup>MSG,DO</sup>-hither-Linvite<sup>A</sup> / here / at.me / at / wedding<sup>AS</sup>  
 He said: 'If I had known, do you think I would have invited you here to the wedding?'

*timyarin i d-iywyen kušši.*  
 women<sup>FS</sup> / that / hither-carrying.to<sup>P</sup> / everything  
 It is the women who did everything.

*iyent-id imedyazen,*  
 they<sup>P</sup>.brought<sup>P</sup>-hither / singers  
 They brought the singers,

<sup>64</sup> The preacher refers here to himself.

*udfen-d zi ṭewwaqat n ṭemyarin yaa ṭemyarin,*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.went.in<sup>P</sup>-hither / from / door<sup>AS</sup> / of / women<sup>AS</sup> / to / women<sup>AS</sup>  
 they came in through the door of the women to the women,

*tyennžen dinni, šet̄then din.*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.sing<sup>I</sup> / there / they<sup>M</sup>.dance<sup>I</sup>.there  
 they sing there, they dance there.'

*nniy-as: 'neš qa waa zemmaay ad ṭbaay qa a dayi-ibedd wuř.'*  
 I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / I / QA / not / I.can<sup>NP</sup> / AD / I.endure<sup>A</sup> / QA / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-it<sup>M</sup>.stands<sup>A</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup>  
 I said: 'I can not stand this anymore, my heart almost stops beating.'

*nniy-as: 'a yaasen adfey din. dinni (i) ya adfey, din.'*  
 I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / AD / at.them<sup>M</sup> / I.go.in<sup>A</sup> / there / there / (that) / AD / I.go.in<sup>A</sup> / there  
 I said: 'I will go to them there, there I will go, there.'

*a tiři težrim-tet x yutub, waa t-težrim ša?*  
 o / probably / you<sup>M:PL</sup>.saw<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>F:DO</sup> / on / YouTube / not / it<sup>F</sup>-you<sup>M:PL</sup>.saw<sup>NP</sup> / not  
 You may have seen it on YouTube. Haven't you seen it?

*udfey din, kṣiy kidi kamira nniy-as i yižzen:*  
 I.went.in<sup>P</sup> / there / I.carried<sup>P</sup> / with.me / camera / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / to / one<sup>M:AS</sup>  
 I entered there, took a camera with me, I said to a guy:

*‘ṣewwaq-d, ṣewwaq-d aah a ṭen-nemnee din, ddaan.’*  
 film<sup>A</sup>-hither / film<sup>A</sup>-hither / go<sup>A</sup> / AD / them<sup>M</sup>-we.grab<sup>A</sup> / there / they<sup>M</sup>.live<sup>P</sup>  
 'Film this, film this, I'm going to grab them there live.'

*nufa tmuniwen ak ṭemyarin. eažib! eažib manaya, eažib.*  
 we.found<sup>P</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.take.dinner<sup>I</sup> / with / women<sup>AS</sup> / amazing / amazing / this / amazing  
 We found them having dinner with the women. Wow! This is something  
 special, this!

*qqimey teggey akisen ddecwa, ssawařey ak...*  
 I.sat<sup>P</sup> / I.do<sup>I</sup> / with.them<sup>M</sup> / admonition / I.speak<sup>I</sup> / with  
 I admonished them, talked to them...

*lqiṣṣa t taziraat mbṛa-ma ruhey yaasen attas.*  
 story / PRED / long<sup>FSG:FS</sup> / without-that / I.went<sup>P</sup> / at.them<sup>M</sup> / much<sup>FS</sup>  
 The story is very long. I do not have to elaborate.

*a lmuhimm, wanitati yenn-ayi lžara'im t timeqqrain,*  
 o / anyway / this.one<sup>M</sup> / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / crimes / PRED / big<sup>FPL:FS</sup>  
 Anyway, this man told me about great crimes,

*ṭemyarin n yaayazen, lfasad, zzina i teggen yina.*  
 women<sup>FS</sup> / of / men<sup>AS</sup> / immorality / adultery / that / they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>I</sup> / these<sup>M</sup>  
 married women, immorality, adultery they commit, these people.

*a nettaa aqebbi-lealamin a ṭen-yehda, a ṭen-yešreh.*  
 AD / we.beg<sup>A</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / them<sup>M:DO</sup>-he.guides<sup>A</sup> / AD / them<sup>M:DO</sup>-he.improves<sup>A</sup>  
 We ask The Lord to guide them and to make them improve.

*a xaney yessbeceed ſſar̥ nſen.*  
 AD / on.us / he.removes<sup>A</sup> / wickedness / their<sup>M</sup>  
 May He remove their evil from us.

*ſhess ml̥ih.*  
 listen<sup>A</sup> / well  
 Listen carefully!

*yenn-ayi: iżz umaq usin-d yari pulisiyya.* 'rmexzen.  
 he.said<sup>F</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / one / time<sup>AS</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.came<sup>F</sup>-hither / at.me / police / authorities  
 He said: 'Once the police came to me.' Officials.

*usin-d yaas, qqimen ssawařen akis.*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.came<sup>F</sup>-hither / at.him / they<sup>M</sup>.sat<sup>P</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.speak<sup>I</sup> / with.him  
 They went to him and talked to him.

*nman-as:*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 They said:

*'a weddi qa nufa iżżeñ t̥tumuñin tegga lakṣiđa, tenneqřeb.'*  
 o / my.friend / QA / we.found<sup>P</sup> / one / car / it<sup>F</sup>.did<sup>P</sup> / accident / it<sup>F</sup>.is.turned.over<sup>P</sup>  
 'We have found a car that was involved in a crash, it was turned upside down.

*mmařra wi ɬayes yemmut.*  
 all / who / in.it / he.died<sup>P</sup>  
 All people that were in it died.'

*nman-as: 'nufa musežala t̥xeddem.'* ɬayes řeynuž.  
 they<sup>M</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / we.found<sup>P</sup> / cassette.player / it<sup>F</sup>.works<sup>I</sup> / in.it / songs  
 They said: 'We found the cassette player was still on. It was playing music.'

*ařmi d ya kksen sintu ufin ſſarika nnes,*  
 until / hither / AD / they<sup>M</sup>.take.away<sup>A</sup> / record / they<sup>M</sup>.found<sup>P</sup> / firm / his  
 When they took out the tape they found it was his company,

*isem n ſſarika.*  
 name<sup>FS</sup> / of / firm  
 the name of the company.

*nman-as: 'aqq-eš niwy-aš-t-id,*  
 they<sup>M</sup>.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / look-you<sup>M:SG:DO</sup> / we.brought<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-it<sup>F:DO</sup>-hither  
 They said: 'Here, we bring it to you

*baš a tessned waha min t̥xeddmed.*  
 so.that / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.know<sup>A</sup> / just / what / you.work<sup>I</sup>  
 so that you know what you are doing.'

*pulisiyya teggen-as ddeewa. řmexzen itegg-as ddeewa.*  
 police / they<sup>M</sup>.do<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / admonition / authorities / he.does<sup>I</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>.admonition  
 The police were admonishing him, the officials were admonishing him.

*a nettaa arebbi-lealamin a ɬaney-yeşreh.*  
 AD / we.beg<sup>A</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / us<sup>DO</sup>-he.improves<sup>A</sup>  
 Let's ask God to improve us.

*zi senni sseqsix-t, nniy-as:*  
 from / by.there / I.asked<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>MDO</sup> / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 Then I asked him, I said:

*'a š-sseqsiy, lla-yarhem-lwalidin nneš, qa šekk tessned.'*  
 AD / you<sup>M:SG:DO</sup>-Lask<sup>A</sup> / God.forgive.the.parents / your<sup>M:SG</sup> / QA / you<sup>M:SG</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.know<sup>P</sup>  
 'I want to ask you, please, you know.'

*Nniy-as: 'qa yari řexbaq di bilžik,*  
 I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / QA / at.me / news / in / Belgium  
 I said: 'I have heard the story in Belgium,

*walakin waa ssiney bu ma mya di mya.*  
 but / not / I.know<sup>NP</sup> / not / Q / hundred / in / hundred  
 but I am not sure 100%.

*waa zemmaay a t-iniy di ddars amenni waha,*  
 not / I.can<sup>NP</sup> / AD / it<sup>MDO</sup>-I.say<sup>A</sup> / in / teaching / thus / just  
 I can not just tell this in a lecture.

*sřiy zegg yewdan, uuzzuy tteħqiq.*  
 I.heard<sup>P</sup> / from / people<sup>AS</sup> / search<sup>1</sup> / confirmation  
 I have just heard from people. I am looking for confirmation.

*yenn-ayi : 'min?'*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / what  
 He said: 'What?'

*nniy-as:*  
 I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 I said:

*'yari řexbaq iżżeñ yemmuż da di nnađuż zegg yinni yetyennżen meerufin.'* at.me /  
 news / one<sup>M</sup> / he.died<sup>P</sup> / here / in / Nador / from / those<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>1</sup> / famous<sup>PL</sup>  
 'I have heard that a famous singer had died here in Nador.'

*ařamí ya yemmet, šbar šwayt n wussan,*  
 when / AD / he.dies<sup>A</sup> / wait! / little / of / days<sup>AS</sup>  
 After he died, just a couple of days later,

*yemma-s, teggua x yinni yezznuzan kašiṭaq n musežala, n řeynuž n ššdiḥ.*  
 mother-his / she.goes<sup>1</sup> / on / those<sup>M</sup> / selling<sup>1</sup> / cassettes / of / player / of / songs / of / dance  
 his mother visited the sellers of music tapes, of the dancing songs.

*teqqar-asen: 'lla-yerhem-lwalidin nwem,*  
 she.says<sup>1</sup>-them<sup>IO</sup> / God.forgive.the.parents / your<sup>M:PL</sup>  
 She said: 'Please,

*sintaq n mmi wi tent-zznuzam ša.'*  
 records / of / my.son / not / them<sup>P:DO</sup>-sell<sup>EM:PL</sup> / not  
 do not sell my son's tapes.'

*nniy-as: 'ma nišan?' yenn-ayi: 'nišan'*  
 I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / Q / right / he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / right  
 I said: 'Is this true?' He said: 'Yes.'

*iwa, nniy-as: 'iwa zid εawd-ayi.'*  
 well / I.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / well / go.on! / tell!<sup>A</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup>  
 Well, I said: 'Come, tell me.'

*yenn-ayi: 'uṛa d nešš tus-d yari.'*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / also / PRED / I / she.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / at.me  
 He said: 'She also came to me.'

*tus-d yaas yemma-s n wenni yemmuten.*  
 she.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / at.him / mother-his / of / the.one<sup>M</sup> / having.died<sup>P</sup>  
 The mother of the person who had died had come to him.

*iwařen-a, ad ttaay ařebbi-łelamin,*  
 words-these / AD / I.beg<sup>A</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds  
 These words, I shall ask of God

*a ten-yessiwed yaa yinni yetyennžen,*  
 AD / them<sup>MDO</sup>-he.lets.arrive<sup>A</sup> / to / those<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>I</sup>  
 that He will bring them to the singers,

*inni yetyennžen di ʂalat.*  
 those<sup>M</sup> / singing<sup>I</sup> / in / rooms  
 those who sing in drawing rooms.

*shess mlih a wma ynu ieizzen.*  
 listen!<sup>A</sup> / well / o / my.brother / my / being.dear<sup>P</sup>  
 Listen carefully my beloved brother!

*wellah ma tmeniy akiš, qa nešš taazzuy-aš řxaa, shess mlih.*  
 by.God / not / I.fight<sup>I</sup> / with.you<sup>M:SG</sup> / QA / I / I.search<sup>I</sup>-you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup> / good / listen!<sup>A</sup> / well  
 I swear I'm not arguing with you, I only want good things for you, listen carefully.

*tamyaat-a tus-d yaas, tettru, weṭṭan-as-d imetṭawen.*  
 woman<sup>PS</sup>-this / she.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / at.him / she.cries<sup>I</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.fall<sup>I</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup>-hither / tears  
 This women went to him, she was crying, tears were dropping down.

*teñn-as: 'a mmi ynu, sbedd wi tsežal ȳu mmi,*  
 she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / o / my.son / my / stop!<sup>A</sup> / not / record!<sup>I</sup> / not / my.son  
 She said: 'O my son, stop do not record my son.'

*muzika d řeynuž-nni nnes, ʂafi.*  
 music / and / songs-these / his / enough  
 His music and singing, it's over.

*sbedd-itent, wi teñt-zznuza ead kṭaa.*  
 stop!<sup>A</sup>-them<sup>P:DO</sup> / not / them<sup>P:DO</sup>-sell!<sup>I</sup> / still / more  
 Stop it, don't sell them any more.'

*teqqim tettru, teñn-as:*  
 she.sat<sup>P</sup> / she.cries<sup>I</sup> / she.said<sup>P</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup>  
 She kept on crying, she said:

*'qa wellah-illa mkuř nhaq, mkuř džiřet yetbedda-d yari di lmanam,*  
 QA / by.God / every / day / every / night / he.stands<sup>I</sup>-hither / at.me / in / dream  
 'I swear that every day, every night I see my son in my dreams,

*yeqqar-ayi: a yemma ynu eawn-ayi, a yemma ynu fekk-ayi.'*

he.says<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>10</sup> / o / my.mother / my / help!<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>10</sup> / o / my.mother / my / free!<sup>1</sup>-me<sup>10</sup>  
he keeps on saying 'o mother help me, o mother relieve me.'

*a nettaa arebbi-lealamin a xaney itub.*

AD / we.beg<sup>1</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / on.us / he.has.mercy<sup>1</sup>

Let's beg the Lord to have mercy on us.

*a nettaa sid-arebbi-lealamin a daney-yeşreh,*

AD / we.beg<sup>1</sup> / Lord.of.the.worlds / AD / us<sup>10</sup>-he.improves<sup>1</sup>

Let's beg the Lord to improve us,

*a daney-yehfed, a daney-yeşsaa.*

AD / us<sup>10</sup>-he.preserves<sup>1</sup> / AD / us<sup>10</sup>-he.shields<sup>1</sup>

to preserve us, to shield us.

#### 18.4 Songs (izřan)

The following texts are traditional *izřan* (singular: *izři*), short couplets consisting of two lines, sung to a melody specific to the genre. *Izřan* are traditionally sung on festive occasions, especially by women during a wedding. Many *izřan* are widely known all over the Rif, and most of the songs given here are not specific to Iqeřeiyen. The *izřan* have been adapted from the books *Izřan Izřan* by Rachida El Marraki, 2009 and *Abrid yer yezran* (the road towards *izřan*) by Mohamed Chacha, 2000. The transcription follows the pronunciation of the Iqeřeiyen variety.

1.

*bismillah<sup>65</sup> a nebda, bismillah a nenteq*

in.God's.name / AD / we.begin<sup>1</sup> / in.God's.name / AD / we.declare<sup>1</sup>  
In God's name we will begin, in God's name we will speak,

*bismillah a nekkes zegg<sup>w</sup> uř nney axeyyeq*

in.God's.name / AD / we.remove<sup>1</sup> / from / heart<sup>15</sup> / our / sadness<sup>FS</sup>  
In God's name we will take away our sadness.

2.

*bismillah a nebda ead waa nebdi zi ša*

in.God's.name / AD / we.begin<sup>1</sup> / still / not / we.began<sup>NP</sup> / from / nothing  
In God's name we will begin, we still haven't begun.

*a nexzaa ma ntawy-it-d niy waa t-id-ntiwi ša*

AD / we.see<sup>1</sup> / Q / we.bring<sup>1</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup>-hither / or / not / it<sup>FDO</sup>-hither-we.bring<sup>NI</sup> / not  
We shall see whether we are good at it or whether we are not.

3.

*ad truy ad truy wi ya řqiy a t-ssruy*

AD / I.cry<sup>1</sup> / AD / I.cry<sup>1</sup> / who / AD / Lencounter<sup>1</sup> / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>-I.make.cry<sup>1</sup>  
I will cry and cry, whoever I encounter I will make him cry.

*mampi leeziz inu i ma ead a t-ttuy?*

my.love / beloved / my / and / Q / AD / still / AD / him<sup>DO</sup>-I.forget<sup>1</sup>  
My sweetheart will I be able to forget him?

<sup>65</sup> Bismillah 'in the name of God' is an Arabic formula used when starting something.

4.

*kkiy sadu wuātu ḥesbey tifray nnes*  
 I.pass<sup>P</sup> / under / fig.tree<sup>AS</sup> / I.counted<sup>P</sup> / leaves<sup>FS</sup> / his  
 I passed under the fig tree and counted its leaves

*mmeṛqiy ak llif min iru wuṛ nnes*  
 I.meet<sup>P</sup> / with / sweetheart / what / it<sup>M</sup>.cried<sup>P</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup> / his  
 I met my sweetheart, his heart wept a lot.

5.

*maṛa truhed aliman qabbi waa daš-isemmeḥ*  
 if / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>P</sup> / Germany / the.Lord / not / you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-he.forgives<sup>I</sup>  
 If you go to Germany<sup>66</sup> may the Lord not forgive you

*težžid ṛeqeqeṛ inu degg<sup>w</sup> brid iseyyeh*  
 you<sup>SG</sup>.left<sup>P</sup> / mind / my / in / road<sup>AS</sup> / it.spilled<sup>P</sup>  
 You left my mind spilled all over the road.

6.

*maṛa truhed aliman gg-ayi di ḥbaṛ nneš*  
 If / you<sup>SG</sup>.go<sup>P</sup> / Germany / put!<sup>A</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / in / mind / your<sup>SG:M</sup>  
 If you go to Germany, keep me in your thoughts

*awi-d arriyalu eemmaq-a ḥežbuḥ nneš*  
 bring!<sup>A</sup>-hither / present / fill!<sup>A</sup>-hither / pockets / your<sup>SG:M</sup>  
 Bring me a present, fill your pockets.

7.

*a ḥebħaa a ḥebħaa ayarrabu sennež*  
 o / sea / o / sea / boat<sup>FS</sup> / above  
 O sea, o sea with a boat on it,

*wi ya ḫraħen aliman a leeziz a šem-yeżż?*  
 who / AD / going<sup>A</sup> / Germany / o / sweetheart / AD / you<sup>SG:F:DO</sup>-he.leaves<sup>A</sup>  
 Who can go to Germany and leave you behind?

8.

*a iṭrañ uženna sennež i taddaat trun*  
 o / stars<sup>FS</sup> / [of] sky<sup>AS</sup> / above / to / house / they<sup>M</sup>.cry<sup>I</sup>  
 O stars in the sky, crying above the house,

*ruħ siwdem-as ssřam i ḫen ḥayi-yettun*  
 go!<sup>A</sup> / deliver!<sup>M:PT</sup>-her<sup>IO</sup> / greetings / to / the.one<sup>F</sup> / me<sup>DO</sup>-forgetting<sup>P</sup>  
 Go and send my regards to the girl that forgot me.

9.

*iđes walu walu a ttebħriy s kukayin*  
 sleep<sup>FS</sup> / nothing / nothing / o / I.am.addicted<sup>P</sup> / with / cocaine  
 I can't get no sleep, I'm addicted to cocaine

<sup>66</sup> In traditional songs, Aliman 'Germany' includes Belgium and the Netherlands. We do not know whether this has to do with a slightly earlier start of labor migration towards Germany than to the other countries, or whether it reflects the notoriety the country had acquired due to the Word Wars, while Belgium and the Netherlands may have been hardly known to rural populations in the Rif before 1960.

*min xafi išedden tinni n ššayaṭin?*  
 what / on.me / fastening<sup>P</sup> / those<sup>F</sup> / of / devils  
 What got me hooked on the works of the devil?

10.

*aya የalla yemma, a yemma inu qeffiy*  
 o / lady / my.mother / o / my.mother / my / i.lose.weight<sup>I</sup>  
 O my dear mother, I am losing weight.

*iwđan ssawařen di ddat inu tesriy*  
 people<sup>FS</sup> / they<sup>M</sup>.talk<sup>I</sup> / in / body / my / i.hear<sup>I</sup>  
 People talk and in my body I hear it.

11.

*sidi eři n nnađua a የmqaṣa n ተhramin*  
 Saint<sup>67</sup> / Ali / of / Nador / o / harbour / of / girls<sup>AS</sup>  
 Sidi Ali of Nador<sup>68</sup>, o harbour of girls,

*ad išebbaq aqebbi uř inu meskin*  
 AD / give.patience<sup>A</sup> / God. / heart<sup>FS</sup> / my / poor<sup>M</sup>  
 May God provide my poor heart with patience.

12.

*yexs-išem wuř inu yexs-išem zi ተemzi*  
 it<sup>M</sup>.wants<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>SGFDO</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup> / my / it<sup>M</sup>.wants<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>SGFDO</sup> / from / youth  
 My heart loves you, it loves you since childhood

*mayemmi dayi-teežid, teežid-ayi da weħd-i?*  
 why / me<sup>DO</sup>-you<sup>SG</sup>.left<sup>P</sup> / you<sup>SG</sup>.left<sup>F</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / here / alone-me  
 Why have you left me, left me here alone?

13.

*aya muřay nney a uma inu sseed nneš*  
 o / groom / our / o / my.brother / my / luck / your<sup>SGM</sup>  
 O our groom, my beloved brother, how lucky you are,

*wellah illa ተwyed tenni yexs wuř nneš*  
 by.God / that / you<sup>SG</sup>.took<sup>P</sup> / the.one<sup>F</sup> / it<sup>M</sup>.wants<sup>P</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>SGM</sup>  
 I swear that you have married the one whom your heart desires.

14.

*aya muřay nney a zzin d arifi*  
 o / groom / our / o / beauty / PRED / Riffian<sup>FS</sup>  
 O our groom, o Riffian beauty,

*zzin am wanita i mani ya yiři?*  
 beauty / like / this<sup>M</sup> / and / where / AD / he.is<sup>A</sup>  
 A beauty like this, could there be anywhere else?

<sup>67</sup> The term *sidi* 'sir' is used to address men in a polite way. It is also used to refer to local saints.

<sup>68</sup> This is a well-known saint's tomb on the coast in the town of Nador. Next to it is the boulevard where people parade along the sea.

15.

*awi-d adžun-nni tuya nniy nehřa*  
 bring!<sup>A</sup>hither / tambourine<sup>TS</sup>-that / PAST / I.said<sup>P</sup> / not.necessary  
 Give me that tambourine which I did not want to have,

*amšum-a n wuř inu yugi a dayi-yehna*  
 naughty<sup>TS</sup>-this / of / heart<sup>AS</sup> / it<sup>M</sup>.refuses<sup>P</sup> / AD / me<sup>IO</sup>-he.rests<sup>A</sup>  
 This damned heart of mine is restless.

16.

*řalla<sup>69</sup> tasřit nney mebruk a wečma*  
 lady / bride<sup>TS</sup> / our / congratulation / o / sister  
 Our bride, congratulations o sister,

*neššin ntedea akidem s řehna*  
 we / we.plea<sup>I</sup> / with.you<sup>SGF</sup> / with / peace  
 We pray that you find peace.

17.

*řalla tasřit nney taqedduht n danun*  
 lady / bride<sup>TS</sup> / our / can<sup>TS</sup> / of / Danone  
 Our bride, o can of Danone (a yoghurt mark)

*qabbi yewš-am zzin waa dam-t-yewši s řqanun*  
 God / he.gave<sup>P</sup>-you<sup>SGFIO</sup> / beauty / not / you<sup>SGFIO</sup>-it<sup>M,DO</sup>-he.gave<sup>NP</sup> / with / law<sup>70</sup>.  
 God has given you beauty in abundance.

18.

*a talimaniyyet, ma ammu i yexs wuř nnem?*  
 o / German<sup>SGF-PS</sup> / q / thus / that / it<sup>M</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / heart<sup>AS</sup> / your<sup>SGF</sup>  
 O German woman, is this your heart's desire?

*sellm-as a d-yaagg<sup>w</sup>eh, šhar inu eam nnem.*  
 allow!<sup>A</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / AD / hither-he.goes.home<sup>A</sup> / a.month / my / a.year / our<sup>SGF</sup>  
 Allow him to go home, one month he is mine, the year round he is yours.<sup>71</sup>

19.

*mayen yuyin uř inu, ibedd waa ixeddem.*  
 what / happening.to<sup>P</sup> / heart<sup>TS</sup> / my / it<sup>M</sup>.stands<sup>P</sup> / not / it<sup>M</sup>.works<sup>I</sup>  
 What happened to my heart, it stands still and doesn't work

*yenna-ayi wedbib: d lhubb i dayem.*  
 he.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / doctor<sup>AS</sup> / PRED / love / that / in.you<sup>SGF</sup>  
 The doctor told me: It is that you are in love.

20.

*tus-ed tenna-ayi: llif nnem isekkaa.<sup>72</sup>*  
 she.came<sup>P</sup>-hither / she.said<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / sweetheart / your<sup>SGF</sup> / he.gets.drunk<sup>I</sup>  
 She came to me and said: Your sweetheart always gets drunk

<sup>69</sup> The term *řalla* ~ *lalla* 'madame, lady, paternal uncle's wife' is a honorific term.

<sup>70</sup> This is a idomatic way of expressing that He has given it without boundaries.

<sup>71</sup> This *izři* refers to the situation of a Moroccan woman/lover left behind by an immigrant worker, who pledges the European girlfriend to let him come one month on vacation to visit her.

*maṛa netta yessaa, nešš ad swey ktaq*  
 if / he / he.drunk<sup>P</sup> / I / AD / I,drink<sup>A</sup> / more  
 if he gets drunk, I will drink (even) more.

21.

*waa yari bu ūeedu zegg<sup>w</sup> yarrabu n Mṛič*  
 not / at.me / not / enemy / from / boat<sup>AS</sup> / of / Melilla  
 I have no enemy except for the Melilla boat<sup>73</sup>

*yiwy-ayi ḡamī ynu, yežž-ayi t tayužič*  
 it<sup>M</sup>.bring<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / my.sweetheart / my / it<sup>M</sup>.left<sup>P</sup>-me<sup>DO</sup> / PRED / orphan<sup>FFS</sup>  
 It took away my love, and left me (like) an orphan.

## 18.5 Dialogues

### 18.5.1 Basic greetings

Many basic greetings are to a large degree in Classical Arabic (or in a local pronunciation of Classical Arabic). In the following dialogues, Arabic formulae have been underlined.

*Meeting somebody:*

A: *s-salamu elikum*  
 the-peace / on.you<sup>PL</sup>  
 Hello.<sup>74</sup>

B: *wa elikum s-salam*  
 and / on.you<sup>PL</sup> / the-peace  
 Hello.

A: *mameš ṭedžid? mlih ša niy?*  
 how / you<sup>SG</sup>.are<sup>P</sup> / well / some / or  
 How are you doing? Everything allright?

B: *mlih, l-hamdu li-lah*  
 good / the-praise / to-God  
 I'm fine, praise the Lord.

A: *la-bas?*  
 no-wrong  
 Are you fine?

B: *(la-bas), l-hamdu li-lah*  
 (no-wrong) / the-praise / to-God  
 (I'm fine), praise the Lord.

<sup>72</sup> The Imperfective form *isekkaa* belongs to a different dialect; in Iqeřeyen, the form *sšara* is used instead.

<sup>73</sup> The Melilla boat is the boat from the Spanish enclave of Melilla, close to Nador, that takes the immigrant workers to Europe.

<sup>74</sup> The Arabic formula *s-salamu elikum* 'peace be upon you' is the normal greeting formula. The answer is invariably *wa elikum s-salam*. Even though the Arabic pronoun *kum* refers to a plural, it is used both with singular and plural addressees. People strongly involved in the Berber cause often use the neologism *azul* instead of *s-salamu elikum*.

A: bi-xir?  
in-good  
Allright?

B: (bi-xir) l-hamdu li-lah  
(in-good) / the-praise / to-God  
Allright, praise the Lord.

A: ssəħħet mliħ?  
health / well  
Is your health okay?

B: l-hamdu li-lah  
the-praise / to-God  
Praise the Lord.

A: famila marrā mliħ?  
family / all / well  
Is your family doing well?

B: marrā mliħ, l-hamdu li-lah, barek llahu fik  
all / well / the-praise / to-God / may.he.bless / God / on.you  
They are all fine, praise the Lord, thank you.<sup>75</sup>

A: min tteawadet?  
what / you<sup>SG</sup>.tell<sup>1</sup>  
What are you up to? (lit. 'what are you telling')

B: iwa, qa ttwarid...  
well / QA / you<sup>SG</sup>.see<sup>1</sup>  
Well, you see...

### Taking leave

A: waxxa, ad uyuay የexxu, yari ša n ss̥yer  
okay / AD / I.go<sup>A</sup> / now / at.me / some / of / work  
Okay, I'm leaving now, I have to do something.

B: waxxa, d wenni netta, b-eslama  
okay / PRED / that.one / he / in-peace  
Allright, that's fine, bye bye.

A: d wenni netta, b-eslama  
PRED / that.one / he / in-peace  
That's fine, bye bye.

### 18.5.2 Getting to know each other

A: tessawařed tmazix?  
you<sup>SG</sup>.speak<sup>1</sup> / Berber  
Do you speak Berber?

<sup>75</sup> The formula *barek llahu fik*, 'God bless you', is the normal polite thanking formula.

B: *wah, ssawařey tmaixt*  
yes / I.speak<sup>l</sup> / Berber  
Yes, I speak Berber.

A: *mlīh, mani teyrid tmaixt?*  
good / where / you<sup>SG</sup>.study<sup>P</sup> / Berber  
Good, where did you learn Berber?

B: *yrix-t di lžamiea*  
I.study<sup>P</sup>-it<sup>FDO</sup> / in / university  
I learned it at University.

A: *mlīh, mameš daš-qqaqan?* (to a male person)  
good / how / you<sup>M:SG:IO</sup>-they<sup>M:SG</sup>.say<sup>l</sup>  
Good, what is your name? (lit. 'what do they call you')

*mlīh, mameš dam-qqaqan?* (to a female person)  
good / how / you<sup>F:SG:IO</sup> / they<sup>M:SG</sup>.say<sup>l</sup>  
Good, what is your name? (lit. 'what do they call you')

B: *(nešš) qqaqan-ayi Patrik (Mariya)*  
I / they<sup>M:SG</sup>.say<sup>l</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / Patrick (Maria)  
(Me), my name is Patrick (Maria). (lit. 'they call me Patrick')

A: *waxxa, nešš qqaqan-ayi Mimun (Fatima)*  
good / I / they<sup>M:SG</sup>.say<sup>l</sup>-me<sup>IO</sup> / Mimoun (Fatima)  
Okay, my name is Mimoun (Fatima).

A: *manis šekk?* (to a male person)  
whence / you<sup>SG:M</sup>  
Where are you from?  
*manis šemm?* (to a female person)  
whence / you<sup>SG:F</sup>  
Where are you from?

B: *nešš zi hulanda, maša zeddyey di ṭanža ṭexxu, i šekk (šemm)?*  
I / from / Netherlands / but / I.live<sup>l</sup> / in / Tanger / now / and / you<sup>SG:M</sup> (you<sup>SG:F</sup>)  
I'm from the Netherlands, but I live in Tanger now, what about you?

A: *neš zeddyey danita, di nnaqda*  
I / I.live<sup>l</sup> / here / in / Nador  
I live here in Nador.

A: *mešhař yaak men sna?* (to a male person)<sup>76</sup>  
how.much / at.you<sup>SG:M</sup> / from / years  
How old are you?  
*mešhař yaam men sna?* (to a female person)  
how.much / at.you<sup>SG:F</sup> / from / years  
How old are you?

B: *nešš yari ṭraṭa-w-ṭraṭin sna, i šekk (šemm)?*  
I / at.me / thirty-three / year / and / you<sup>SG:M</sup> (you<sup>SG:F</sup>)  
I'm thirty-three years old, what about you?

<sup>76</sup> This is a half-Arabic formula, using the Moroccan Arabic construction *šhal men sna* 'how many years'.

A: *nešš yari tnayn-u-eišrin sna*  
 I / at.me / twenty-two / years  
 I'm twenty-two years old.

B: *waxxa, ad uyuay a nemžaa ead in-šae-ellah*  
 okay / AD / Lgo<sup>A</sup> / AD / we.see.each.other<sup>A</sup> / still / if-he.wills-God<sup>77</sup>  
 Okay, I'm leaving, we will see each other, God willing.

B: *waxxa, in-šae-ellah, d wenni netta b-eslama*  
 okay / if-he.wills-God / PRED / that.one / he / with-peace  
 Okay, God willing, so that's it, bye bye

### 18.5.3 The weather today

A: *nhar-a ūehmu niy lla?*  
 day-this / heat / or / no  
 It is hot today isn't it?

B: *wah, ūehmu aṭṭas*  
 yes / heat / much<sup>F5</sup>  
 Yes, it is very hot.

A: *ṭfušt nhar-a*  
 sun / day-this  
 It is sunny today.

B: *wah ṭfušt, anžaa waa yewṭi ūa*  
 yes / sun / rain<sup>F5</sup> / not / it<sup>M</sup>.hit<sup>NP</sup> / not  
 Yes, it is sunny, there hasn't been raining (today).

A: *wah, maša idennaq yewṭa wenzaa*  
 yes / but / yesterday / it<sup>M</sup>.hit<sup>P</sup> / rain<sup>A5</sup>  
 Yes, but yesterday it rained.

B: *in-šae-ellah ad yewwet eawed*  
 if-he.wills-God / AD / it<sup>M</sup>.hits<sup>A</sup> / again  
 It will rain again, God willing.

A: *maṛa yexs arṛebbi in-šae-ellah*  
 if / he.wants<sup>P</sup> / Lord / if-he.wills-God  
 God willing.<sup>78</sup>

B: *in-šae-ellah*  
 if-he.wills-God  
 God willing.

<sup>77</sup> A formula coming from Classical Arabic 'in šā'a llāhu 'if God wills'. Note that the glottal stop of Classical šā'a has been interpreted as a *e* in Tarifiyt. *In-šae-ellah* is commonly used when referring to something positive in the future.

<sup>78</sup> The first part *maṛa yexs arṛebbi* is a literal rendering into Tarifiyt of *in-šae-ellah*.

## 18.5.4 Eating out

*Choosing the restaurant*

A: *a nraḥ a nešš?*  
 AD / we.go<sup>A</sup> / AD / we.eat<sup>A</sup>  
 Shall we go and eat?

B: *waxxa, mani ya nraḥ?*  
 okay / where / AD / we.go<sup>A</sup>  
 Okay, where shall we go?

A: *min texsed a tešsed?*  
 what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.eat<sup>A</sup>  
 What do you want to eat?

B: *xsey ad šsey iseřman*  
 I.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / I.eat<sup>A</sup> / fish<sup>PL</sup>  
 I'd like to eat fish.

A: *waxxa, a nraḥ yaa arristuran umeddukeř inu.*  
 okay / AD / we.go<sup>A</sup> / to / restaurant / [of] friend<sup>AS</sup> / my  
 Okay, we will go to a restaurant of a friend of mine.

B: *waxxa mlih*  
 okay / good  
 Okay, that's good.

A: *lmakla nnes tjiřa?*  
 food / his / it<sup>P</sup>.is.expensive<sup>P</sup>  
 Is the food expensive?

B: *lla, kurši yaaxes*  
 no / everything / it<sup>M</sup>.is.cheap<sup>P</sup>  
 No, everything is cheap.

*While eating*

A: *b-ism-illah*  
 with-name-God  
 In the name of God.

B: *b-ism-illah*  
 with-name-God  
 In the name of God.

A: *wš-ayi-d tayenžašt (furšiṭa / řmus / ayrum)*  
 give!<sup>A</sup>-me<sup>10</sup>-hither / spoon<sup>FS</sup> (fork / knife / bread<sup>FS</sup>)  
 Give me a spoon (fork / knife / bread).

B: *ay-aš*  
 here.you.are-you<sup>SG.MD0</sup>  
 Here you are.

A: *εafak*  
 thanks  
 Thank you.

*Choosing a drink*

A: *xsey ad swey, ffudey*  
 I.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / I.drink<sup>A</sup> / I.am.thirsty<sup>P</sup>  
 I should like to drink, I am thirsty.

B: *uṛa d nešš ffudey*  
 also / PRED / I / I.am.thirsty<sup>P</sup>  
 I'm thirsty as well.

A: *min texsed a teswed?*  
 what / you<sup>SG</sup>.want<sup>P</sup> / AD / you<sup>SG</sup>.drink<sup>A</sup>  
 What do you want to drink?

B: *awi-d kuka t taṣemmat*  
 bring!<sup>A</sup>-hither / Coke / PRED / cold<sup>SG:FFS</sup>  
 Bring me a cold Coke.

A: *waxxa, nešš ad swey atay*  
 okay / I / AD / I.drink<sup>A</sup> / tea<sup>TS</sup>  
 Okay, I will drink tea.

*Leaving the restaurant*

A: *a nuyua?*  
 AD / we.go<sup>A</sup>  
 Shall we go?

B: *waxxa, zid, ttar-as ḫeṣab.*  
 okay / come.on / ask!<sup>A</sup>-him<sup>IO</sup> / bill  
 Okay, ask him for the bill.

A: *awy-aney-d ḫeṣab llah yehdi-k*  
 bring!<sup>A</sup>-us<sup>IO</sup>-hither / bill / God / he.may.reward-you  
 Could you bring us the bill please?<sup>79</sup> (to the waiter)

B: *b-eslama*  
 with-peace  
 goodbye (to the waiter)

A: *d wenni netta, llah ieawen*  
 PRED / that.one / he / God / may.he.help  
 That's it, goodbye<sup>80</sup>. (to the waiter)

18.5.5 *sirkulasyun* (traffic)

A: *s-salamu elikum*  
 the-peace / upon.you<sup>PL</sup>  
 Hello.

<sup>79</sup> *llah yehdi-k* 'may God reward you' is an Arabic phrase that is used like English 'please'.

<sup>80</sup> *llah ieawen* 'may God help you' is an Arabic phrase used in the same way as English 'goodbye'.

B: *wa εlikum s-salam*  
and / upon.you<sup>PL</sup> / the-peace  
Hello.

A: *tezrid laksida-nni yewqeen?*  
you<sup>SG</sup>.saw<sup>P</sup> / accident-that / happening<sup>P</sup>  
Did you see the (car) crash that happened?

B: *lla, s̄riy xas waha*  
no / I.heard<sup>P</sup> / on.it / only  
No, I only heard about it.

A: *tewqee degg\* b̄rid n wezyenyan*  
it<sup>F</sup>.happened<sup>P</sup> / in / road<sup>AS</sup> / of / Zeghanghane<sup>AS</sup>  
It happened on the Zeghanghane road.

B: *wah, laksida t tameqqrant*  
yes / accident / PRED / big<sup>FSGFS</sup>  
Yeah, it was a big (car) crash.

A: *abrid ibellee marr̄a*  
road<sup>FS</sup> / it.is.closed<sup>P</sup> / all  
The whole road is closed.

B: *immuł d̄in ša n yiżżeñ?*  
he<sup>M</sup>.died<sup>P</sup> / there / some / of / one<sup>MCAS</sup>  
Did anybody die there?

A: *wah, yemmuł iżżeñ waayaz d mmi-s, msakin.*  
yes / he.died<sup>P</sup> / one / man<sup>AS</sup> / and / son-his / poor.guys  
Yes, one man and his son died, the poor guys.

B: *mameš temsaa?*  
how / it<sup>F</sup>.happened<sup>P</sup>  
How did it happen?

A: *yesħaqq sstupp uša t̄udef daysen iżżeñ t̄tumuġin*  
he.burned<sup>P</sup> / traffic.light / then / it<sup>F</sup>.entered<sup>P</sup> / in.them<sup>M</sup> / one / car  
He crossed the red light and then a car hit them.

B: *tuya itazzeř eini. iwa, a ten-yaqhem sidi aqbbi.*  
PAST / he.runs<sup>I</sup> / probably / well / AD / them<sup>MDO</sup>-he.has.mercy / Sir / Lord  
He was probably speeding. Well, may they rest in peace.<sup>81</sup>

A: *ttħawar̄ waha, d̄in aṭṭas n t̄tumuġinat*  
be.carefull<sup>I</sup> / only / there / much<sup>FS</sup> / of / cars  
Just be careful. There are many cars.

B: *a wah, yewseε uqedduh*  
o / yes / it<sup>M</sup>.is.many<sup>P</sup> / tin.can<sup>AS</sup>  
Yes, there are many tin cans (i.e. cars).

<sup>81</sup> Expressions meaning 'may the Lord have mercy upon him' (both in Arabic and, like here, in Tarifiyt) are used when speaking about people that have passed away.

## 19. Word list

The following word list contains the words that are used in the grammatical examples and in the texts in alphabetical order. Lemmas have the following structure:

a. With nouns, first the Free State singular form is given. After this, the first syllable of the Annexed State is given between brackets. A slash (/) indicates that the following form is the plural (Free State), followed by the Annexed State between brackets. When the Free State and the Annexed State are identical, no Annexed State is indicated. Example:

*afriw (wa-) / afriwen (wa-)*  
i.e. SG:FS *afriw* (SG:AS *wafriw*) / PL:FS *afriwen* (PL:AS *wafriwen*)

b. With verbs, the Aspectual forms are given in the order Aorist / Perfective / Negative Perfective / Imperfective / Negative Imperfective. The abbreviation NA indicates the verbal noun. When a form is identical to the preceding form, this is indicated by means of =. Example:

*aani / = / = / aanni / = / NA t̪imaaniwt*  
i.e. A *aani* / P *aani* / NP *aani* / I *aanni* / NI *aanni* / NA *t̪imaaniwt*

Verbs are cited without person marking. The special vocalization of the Perfective of verbs that have no vowel in the Imperative (see section 4.1) is marked by *i~a*, e.g.

*yez / yzi~a / yzi / qqaz / qqiz / NA t̪yuzi*

With verbs that underlyingly end in *y* or *w*, which become *i* and *u* in word-final position the citation form is the form with the vowel. The structure of the verb is given after the Aorist between |, e.g.

*h̪ru |h̪rw| / = / = / hedžu / = / NA aħħraw*

In the alphabetic order, spirantization and pharyngealization are not taken into account; i.e. *d, ɏ, d* and *ɏ* are alphabeticized together.

Following conventions in Berbers studies, *y* precedes *q* in the alphabetical order and *ɛ* is the last letter of the alphabet.

## A/AA

a allomorph of the particle *ad* see 7.1.1

a proximal deictic clitic 'this' see 6.1

a vocative particle, e.g. *a Mimun*  
(o) *Mimoun*

*aqabba* / = / *aqabbi* / *tqabba* / *tqabbi* /  
NA *ttaqabeyyet* 'to raise'

*aqabbi* ~ *arrebbi* 'the Lord'

*aabib* (waa-) / *iabiben* (y-) 'stepson'

*aabu* / = / = / *aabbu* / = / NA *taabbut*  
'to carry on the back'

*aqbeetəš* ~ *aqbeetəšqa* 'fourteen'  
(the form *aqbeetəšqa* is used  
before a few nouns such as 'year')

*aqbea* ~ *aqbee* 'four' (the form  
*aqbee* is used before a few nouns  
such as 'year')

*aqbein* 'forty'

*aageb* / = / *aagib* / *traggab* / *triggib*  
'to be informed, to appear'

*qaggwəh* / *qaggwəh* / *qaggwih* /  
*traggwəh* / *triggwih* 'to go home'

*aqəh* / = / = / *tqəh* / *tih* / NA *trəhit*  
'to go'

*aqhem* / = / *aqhim* / *aqhhem* / = / NA  
*arrehmet* 'to forgive (by God), to  
have mercy (God)'

*aqher* / = / *aqhiř* / *aahher* / = / 'to  
move house'

*aan* (waa) 'flour'

*aani* / = / = / *aanni* / = / NA  
*timaaniwt* 'to add'

*aay* / *aayi-a* / *aayi* / *aaqq* / = 'to  
illuminate, to be lit'

*aas* / *aasi-a* / *aasi* / *trusa* / *trusi* 'to  
land, to lie down'

*aqawah* (only imperative) 'come'

*aqweř* / = / *aqwiř* / *trakkʷař* / *trikkʷiř*  
/ NA *taawra'* to flee'

*aawes* + *di* / = / *aawis* (no  
imperfective) / NA *taawsa* 'to  
resemble, look like'

*qaxeš* / = / *qaxiš* (no Imperfective)  
'to be cheap'

*ayaz* (waa) / *iayazen* (yaa) 'man,  
husband'

*qaz* / *qazi-a* / *qazi* / *taazza* / *taazzi* /  
NA *taazzit* 'to break'

*qazem* / = / *qazim* / *qazzem* / = / NA  
*qazam* 'to open'

*aazu* ~ *uuzu* / = / = / *aazzu* ~ *uuzzu* /  
= / NA *taazzuł* 'to search'

*abarrah* (u-) / *ibarrahen* 'announcer  
at the market'

*aber* (wa-) / *abriwen* (wa-) 'eyelash'

*abettix* (collective); *tabettixt* /  
*tibettixin* 'melon'

*abrid* (we-) / *ibriden* (ye-) 'road'

*abyas* (we-) / *ibuyas* 'belt'

*ad* pre-verbal particle expressing non-  
realized or future events, see 7.1.1

*adbib* (we-) / *idbiben* (ye) 'doctor'

*adef* / *udef* / *udif* / *tadef* / *tidef* / NA  
*adaf* 'to enter'

*adeggʷař / iđuřan* 'father-in-law, brother-in-law'; the plural is used meaning 'parents-in-law'

*adehšua / iđehšuṛa* 'deaf, deaf person'

*ades / udes / uđis / tades / tides / NA ţadas* 'to be close'

*adewwqa (u-)* / *iđewwqan* 'village'

*adraa (we-)* / *iđuraa* 'mountain'

*adu (~ sadu)* 'under'

*adžun (wa-)* / *adžunen (wa-)* 'big tambourin'

*af / ufi~a / ufi / taf / tif / NA ȝwafit* 'to find'

*afedžah (u-)* / *ifedžaħen* 'farmer'

*afriw (wa-)* / *afriwen (wa-)* 'wing'

*afunas (u-)* / *ifunasen* 'bull, ox'

*agemmiz (u-) ~ ameggiz / igemmizen* ~ *imeggizen* 'cheek'

*agezzaa (u-)* / *igezaan* 'butcher'

*agi / ugi / = / tagi / =* 'to refuse'

*ahqaqbiđ (u-)* 'dish consisting of semolina with milk'

*ahenžia (u-)* / *iħenžian* 'boy'

*aher / uħer / uħiř / taħħeř / tiħħeř /* NA *ħweħran* 'to be tired, to become tired, to get fed up with, to try in vain'

*ahħaq* particle introducing an oath

*ahuři (u-)* / *iħuřiyan* 'sheep'

*ak ~ akeđ ~ ked* 'with' (comitative preposition)

*akeššud (u-)* / *ikeššuđen* 'stick'

*akid-* 'with' (comitative preposition)

*Aliman (u-)* 'Germany, German person'

*am* 'like, the same as'

(preposition)

*amqä / umqä / = / tamqä / = /* NA *ħwamqat* 'to order'

*aman (wa-)* (plurale tantum) 'water'

*ameddukeř (u-)* / *imeddukař* 'friend'

*amedyaz (u-)* / *imediyazen* 'traditional professional singer'

*ameħħdaq (u-)* / *imeħħdaqan* 'student'

*amen / umen / umin / tamen / timen* / NA *ħaman* 'to believe'

*amen* 'while' (conjunction)

*amenni* 'like that, in that way'

(adverb)

*amensi (u-)* / *imensiyen* 'dinner'

*ameqqran (u-)* / *imeqqranen* 'big one'

*amesřem (u-)* / *imseřmen (ye-)* 'muslim'

*amešnaw* 'like' (preposition)

*ameṭṭa (u-)* / *imettawen* 'tear'

*amezdag (u-)* / *imezdagen* 'clean (one)'

*amettin (u-)* / *imettinen* 'dead person, corpse'

*amezwaru (u-)* / *imezwura* 'first one'

amezzyan (u-) / imezzyanen 'small (one), little (one)'

amezzun (u-) / imežžan 'ear'

ami 'when' (conjunction)

amin 'Amen'

ammu 'like this'

amyaan (we-) / imyaan (ye-) 'father-in-law'

amšan (we-) / imušan 'place, spot'

amšum (we-) / imšumen (ye-) 'naughty person, wicked person'

amyan (we-) / imyanen 'big billy goat'

amžiw (wa-) / amžiwen (wa-) 'ogre'

ander (we-) / imedřan 'grave'

andu (we-) / inuda 'twined plate for winnowing and eating'

aneggaa (u-) ~ aneggaru (u-) / ineggura 'last one'

aney (wa-) 'palate'

anewwąq (u-) / inewwąqan (i-) 'tail'

anewži (u-) / inewžiwen 'visitor, guest'

anu (wa-) / anuten (wa-) 'well'

anžaa (we-) 'rain'

apači (u-) 'Apache helicopter'

ayarrabu (u-) / iyarruba 'boat'

ayarraf (u-) / iyarrafen 'water jug'

ayenža (u-) / iyenžayen 'ladle'

ay- presentative particle. The receiver is indicated by an indirect object e.g. ay-aš 'here you have it', see 8.5

ayi (u-) 'milk'

ayi (u-) asemnam 'buttermilk'

ayirin (u-) 'over there, towards (there)'

ayrum (we-) 'bread'

ayyuř (we-) / iyyař (ye-) 'donkey'

aq- ~ aqq- ~ aqa ~ aqqa 'presentative particle'

aqaqriw (u-) / iqqaqriwen 'frog'

aqbuš (we-) / iqubaš 'jug for fetching water'

aqemmum (u-) / iqemmam ~ iqemmumen 'mouth'

aqeřei (u-) / iqeřeyen 'member of the Iqeřeyen (Guelaia, around Nador) people (tribe)'

aqiđun (u-) / iqidjan 'tent'

aqzin (we-) / iqzin (ye-) 'dog'

ař 'until' (preposition / conjunction)

ařami 'until' (conjunction)

ařef / řuřuf 'thousand'

arrebbi 'God, the Lord'

arrezzet / arrżawęz 'turban'

ari (wa-) 'esparto grass'

ari / uri-a / uri / tari / = / NA ɬira 'to write'

arifi (u-) / irifiyen 'Riffian person' (traditionally this refers to the Berber groups west of Iqeřeyen; in modern usage it often includes the latter)

aři |ařy| / uři / = / taři / tiři 'to go up'

ařmi 'until' (conjunction)

ařyem (we-) / iřeyman 'camel'

arr / arri-a / arri / tarra / = / NA twarrit 'to return, to render, to answer, to plant'

array 'will'

arrehmet 'kindness'

arrida 'love'

arrif 'the Rif (region)'

arriyalu / arriyaluč 'present'

arristuran / arristuranč 'restaurant'

ariš 'fur, feathers'

arrud (wa-) 'clothes'

arrzeq 'financial fortune'

aru |ařw| / uřu / uřiw / ttaru / ttiju 'to give birth'

as-d / us-d / d-usi / tas-d / d-itis / NA t̄wasit 'to come' (always combined with the element d 'hither')

asaadun (u-) / isaadan 'mule'

aseksuč (u-) / iseksučen 'upper part of a couscous pan'

asemmađ (u-) / isemmađen 'cold (one)'

asemmam (u-) / isemmamen 'sour'

asennan (u-) / isennanen 'thorn'

aseymi (u-) / iseyman 'baby'

aspānyu (u-) / ispānyu (yi-) 'Spanish, Spaniard'

asřem (we-) / iseřman 'fish'

ašaa / ušaa / = / tašaa / tišaa / NA tušefra 'to steal'

ašeēeuq (u-) / išeēeuqan 'hair'

ašemmus (u-) / išemsan 'wrapping'

ašemrāř (u-) / išemrāřen 'white (one)'

ašewwaf (u-) 'hair'

at̄ 'those of (mostly tribal affiliation)'

atay (wa-) 'tea'

at̄laš (wa-) 'a lot, many'

at̄taw (wa-) / at̄tawen (wa-) 'big eye'

awaan i 'behind'

awař (wa-) / awařen (wa-) ~ iwařen (yi-) 'word, discourse'

awed / iwed / iwid / takkʷađ / tikkʷiđ / NA awađ ~ t̄awađt 'to arrive, to reach'

awessaa (u-) / iwessura 'old man'

awi |awy| / iwi / = / tawi / tiwi 'to take, to marry'

awrud 'hither (adverb), towards (here)'

axeddam (u-) / ixeddamen 'workman'

axxam (we-) / ixxamen 'room'

ayawya 'each other'

aydi (we-) / iṭan (yi-) 'dog'

ayetma (ya-) 'brothers'

ayrad (wa-) / ayrađen (wa-) 'lion'

aysum ~ aksum (we-) 'meat'

ayt 'those of (mostly tribal affiliation)'  
 ayužir (u-) / iyužiřen 'orphan'  
 ayyaw (wa-) / wayyawen (wa-) 'grandchild'  
 azedžif ~ ažedžif (u-) / izedžifen ~ ižedžifen 'head'  
 azegg"ay (u-) / izegg"ayen 'red (one)'  
 azey / uzy / uziy / tazey / tizey / NA  
 řazay 'to dry'  
 aziza (u-) / izizawen 'green (one), blue (one)'  
 Azyenyan (u) 'Zeghanghane (or Segangan, a village close to Nador)'  
 azru (we-) / izra 'stone'  
 azu / uza / uzi / tazu / tizu / NA  
 tazuť 'to skin'  
 ažwąq (we-) / iżewrąn 'root, muscle'  
 azyaw (we-) / izyawen (ye-) 'basket'  
 azyen (we-) / izeynan 'half'  
 azzeř / uzzeř / uzzir / tazzeř / tizzeř / NA  
 tazzra 'to run'  
 aždiđ (we-) / iždađ (ye-) 'bird'  
 ažedžid (u-) / ižedžiđen 'king'  
 ažemmađ (u-) 'opposite'  
 aženna (u-) / iženwan 'sky'  
 aeešši (u-) 'afternoon'  
 aerab (wa-) / aeraben (wa-) 'Arab'  
 aerua (we-) / ieuraa 'back'

B, B  
 bab / aṭ-baṭ 'owner'  
 baṭa / iṭabaṭen 'father'  
 barra 'outside' (adverb)  
 baš 'so that, in order to' (conjunction)  
 baṭaṭa (collective); tbaṭaṭ / tibaṭaṭin  
 'potato'  
 baw (u-) / ibawen 'bean'  
 bbarršen / = / = / tbarršin / = / NA  
 tubbarršent 'to blacken'  
 bda / = / bdi / bedda / beddi / NA  
 będdu 'to begin'  
 bda / = / bdi / bętta / bętti / NA  
 bętta 'to divide, to separate'  
 bedd / = / = / tbedda / tbeddi / NA  
 abeddi 'to stand up'  
 beddeř / = / = / tbeddeř / tbeddiř / NA  
 abeddeř 'to change, to swap'  
 belley / = / = / tbellay / tbellię / NA  
 abelley 'to transfer (orally)'  
 belleę / = / = / tbellaę / tbelleę / NA  
 abelleę 'to close, to be closed'  
 belli 'that' (complementizer)  
 Bilžik, Bilžika 'Belgium'  
 bnađem / iwđan (ye-) 'human being'  
 břa 'without' (preposition)  
 bu 'post-verbal negative particle before a complement noun or predicate'

*bu* 'owner of, somebody with'  
*buya* 'word used in the traditional  
 song line *ralla buya*'

## D, D, D, D

*d* ~ *dd* ~ *id* 'hither' (deictic clitic)  
*d* (followed by Free State)  
 predicative particle  
*d* (followed by Annexed State)  
 'and' (preposition)  
*da* 'here' (adverb)  
*daa* (u-) / *idaan* 'leg, foot'  
*daq* (u-) / *iðuðan* 'finger'  
*danita* ~ *daniti* 'here'  
*darree* / = / = / *tdarre* / = / NA  
 'to embrace'  
*day-* 'in' (preposition)  
*dd* 'hither' (deictic clitic)  
*ddaa* / = / = / *teddaa* / = / NA *tuðaa*  
 'to live'  
*ddaq* / = / = / *tdara* ~ *ttqa* / *tdari* 'to  
 get off, to step out'  
*ddars* / *dduruš* 'lesson'  
*ddat* 'body'  
*ddegg* 'weird thing'  
*ddellie* (collective); *taðelliht* /  
*tidelliein* 'watermelon';  
*ddexxan* / *ddaxen* 'smoke'  
*ddez* / = / *ddiz* / *teddez* / = / NA *idez*  
 'to pound, to flatten'  
*ddeewa* 'admonition'

*ddhen* 'butter'  
*ddhen ahuri* 'ghee'  
*ddin* 'religion'  
*dðiðet* 'pregnancy'  
*ddisku* / *ddiskawat* 'song'  
*ddqqa* / *ddqayeq* 'minute'  
*ddra* 'maize'  
*ddšaq* / *ddšurat* 'village'  
*debbaq* / = / = / *tdebbara* / *tdebbari* /  
 NA *adebbaq* 'to arrange, to rule'  
*deg*, *degg*, *degg"* 'in' (preposition)  
*deyya* 'quickly'  
*deř* / *dři~a* / *dři* / *ddař* / *ddiř* 'to  
 cover'  
*dfaq* / = / = / *dfaffaq* / = 'to follow'  
*dfes* / = / *dfis* / *deffes* / = / NA *adfas*  
 'to fold'  
*dheš* / = / *ðhiš* / *dehheš* / = / NA  
*taðehhaš* 'to laugh'  
*di* 'in' (preposition)  
*diha* 'there'  
*din* 'there'  
*dinni* 'there'  
*drus* 'little, few' (adverb)  
*du* | *dw* | *dwi~a* / *dwi* / *ttaw* / *ttiw* /  
*NA ttawa* 'to fly'  
*duq* / = / = / *ddura* / *dduri* / NA *aduri*  
 'to walk around'  
*duru* / *iðuru* '0.5 dirham  
 (currency)'  
*dweř* / = / *dwiř* / *ddakk"ař* / *ddikk"iř*  
 / NA *tidewřa* 'to return, to become'

džaż / džuż / = / třaža / třiži / NA ţaž  
 'to be hungry'

džem / = / džim / tedžem / = 'to spin'

džiřet / džyaři 'night'

dea / = / dei / tedea / tedei / NA  
 ddeewet 'to beg (religiously), to  
 curse, to summon (to court)'

## F

faq / = / = / tefriy / = / NA tifqayi  
 'to be bent'

faah / = / = / farreh / = / NA ţefrahet  
 'to be happy'

faaq / = / = / farreq / = / NA ţfaaq  
 'to separate'

fad 'thirst'

familiya 'family'

faq / = / fiq / tfaqa / tfiqi / NA afaqi  
 'to be awake'

farina 'soft wheat'

fařrey / = / = / tfařray / tfařriy / NA  
 afarrey 'to poor'

fdeř / = / fdiř / feddeř / feddeř 'to  
 be better'

fedžeq / = / = / tfedžaq / tfedžiq / NA  
 afedžeq 'to split'

fek / = / = / tpekka / tpekki / NA  
 afekki 'to rescue, to solve'

fewwąq / = / = / tfewwąq / = / NA  
 afewwąq 'to steam'

ffaa / = / = / teffaa / = / NA tnuffra  
 'to hide'

ffad / ffud / = / tfadi ~ a / tfidi / NA  
 fad 'to be thirsty'

ffey / = / ffiy / teffey / = / NA ufuý  
 'to go out'

ffež / = / ffiž / teffež / = / NA ufuž ~  
 ifež 'to chew'

ffu-d / = / = / teffu-d / = 'to be in  
 morning, to become' (always  
 with the element d 'hither')

ffurřež / = / = / tfurřuž / = / NA  
 afurřež 'to look, to entertain'

fhem / = / fhim / fehhem / = / NA  
 ţefhamet 'to understand'

fiyaq (u-) / ifiyran 'snake'

fiza / fizat 'visa'

fles / flis / teflis / = / NA aflen 'to be  
 good-for-nothing'

fran (M), fřana (F) 'so-and-so'

frinu / frinawat 'break'

fteh / = / ftih / fetteh / = / NA aftah  
 'to swim'

fteř / = / ftir / fetter / = / NA aftař  
 'to roll (couscous)'

fuarma / fuarmat 'shape'

fud (u-) / ifadden 'knee'

furşa / furas 'opportuniy'

furšiṭa / furšiṭat 'fork'

fus (u-) / ifassen 'hand'

G, GG<sup>w</sup>

g 'in' (prep.)  
 gewwed / = / = / tgewwad / tgewwid / NA  
     / NA agewwed 'to lead'  
 geεεεed / = / = / tgeεεεad / tgeεεεid / NA  
     ageεεεed 'to go up, to ascend'  
 gg / ggi~a / ggi / tegg / = / NA  
     tmeffa 'to do, to make, to be  
     like'  
 gg<sup>w</sup> / gg<sup>w</sup>i~a / gg<sup>w</sup>i / tegg<sup>w</sup> / = / NA  
     tig<sup>w</sup>i 'to knead (bread)'  
 gg<sup>w</sup>ed / = / gg<sup>w</sup>id / tegg<sup>w</sup>ed / = / NA  
     tig<sup>w</sup>di 'to fear, to be afraid'  
 ggenfa / ggenfi / tgenfa / tgenfi / NA  
     agenfi ~ agenfu 'to heal'  
 gguia 'almost' (adverb)

## H

ha presentative particle  
 harred / = / = / tharred / = / NA  
     řhaad 'to talk'  
 haya / = / = / thaya / = 'to be tired'  
 hda / = / hdi / hedda / heddi 'to  
     guide (religiously), to graze'  
 hna / = / hni / (no Imperfective) /  
     NA řehna 'to be calm, to be in  
     peace'  
 Hulanda 'the Netherlands'  
 hwa / = / hwi / hekk<sup>w</sup>a / hekk<sup>w</sup>i / NA  
     hekk<sup>w</sup>u 'to go down, to descend'

## H

haay / = / = / harri / = / NA ahray  
     'to grind'  
 hama 'in order to' (conjunction)  
 haseb / = / hiseb / thasab / thisi<sup>w</sup> /  
     NA ahaseb 'to reproach, to  
     punish'  
 hawer / = / hiweř / thawař / thiwiř  
     'to be careful'  
 hayaa 'astonished' (adverb)  
 hdaa / = / = / hettaa / = / NA hettu  
     'to keep an eye on'  
 hedd / = / = / thedda / theddi / NA  
     heddu 'to limit'  
 hedd 'anybody' (in negations)  
 hekk / = / = / thekka / thekki / NA  
     ahekki 'to rub'  
 hendža 'so that' (conjunction)  
 henna / tihennařin 'grandmother'  
 hfed / hfiđ / heffeđ / = / NA ahfađ  
     'to memorize'  
 hideš ~ hidašq 'eleven' (the  
     form hidašq is used before a few  
     nouns such as 'year')  
 hima 'so that' (conjunction)  
 hkem / = / hkim / hekkem / = / NA  
     řehkam 'to rule'  
 hřeš / = / hřiš / hedžeš / = / NA  
     řehřaš 'to be ill, to be sick'  
 hřu |hřw| / = / hřiw ~ hřu / hedžu / =  
     / NA ařraw 'to gulp, to eat or'

drink semi-liquid food (e.g. thick soup)'  
*ħseb* / = / *ħsib* / *ħesseb* / = / NA

*reħsab* 'to count'  
*ħuma* 'so that' (conjunction)

## I

*i* 'to' (preposition)

*i* relative marker, also in cleft constructions

*i* 'and' (a particle used to coordinate between conversational turns)

*iąq* / = / = / *yarraq* / = 'to dress'  
*iaden* (plurale tantum) 'wheat'  
*iadammen* (plurale tantum) 'blood'  
*iđennaq* 'yesterday'

*iđeş* (yi-) 'sleep'

*idži* (yi-) / *issi* (yi-) 'daughter'

*ifis* (yi-) / *ifisen* (yi-) 'hyena'

*ifri* (yi-) / *ifran* (yi-) 'cave'

*iggʷež* / = / = / *ttaggʷaž* / *tiggʷiž* / NA *tiggʷža* 'to be far'

*illa* 'that' (complementizer)

*imendi* 'barley'

*inaqfed* / *inaqfħawen* 'spleen'

*inadān* 'good deeds'

*ini* / *nna* / *qqaq* / = / NA *timenna* 'to say'

*insi* (yi-) / *insawen* (yi-) 'hedgehog'

*inu* 'my'

*iyaqaynen* (plurale tantum) '(double) saddlebag'

*iyemzan* (plurale tantum) 'big teeth'

*iyess* / *ixsan* (ye-) 'bone'

*iyeyd* / *iyeyden* 'billy-goat'

*iyeyed* (yi-) 'ash'

*iyřa* / *iyři* / *tiyřa* / *tiyři* / NA *řiyřa* 'to be expensive'

*iyzaq* (ye-) / *iyezřan* 'river'

*iraa* / = / = / *tiraa* / = / NA *řiraat* 'to play'

*iřef* (yi-) / *iřfan* (yi-) 'boar'

*iřem* (yi-) / *iřmawen* (yi-) 'skin, hide'

*iřes* (yi-) / *iřsawen* (yi-) 'tongue'

*iri* (yi-) / *irawen* (yi-) 'neck'

*iři* / *dža* / *dži* / *tiři* / = 'to be'

*isem* (yi-) / *ismawen* (yi-) 'name, name giving day'

*išarri* / *ašraan* (wa-) 'ram'

*išš* (yi-) / *aššawen* (wa-) 'horn'

*išt* (yi-) ~ *išten* (yi-) 'one' (feminine)  
 (the Annexed State is only used after prepositions)

*iřtri* (yi-) / *iřtran* (yi-) 'star'

*iwa* 'well' (interjection)

*iwdan* (ye-) 'people'

*iwzawen* (yi-) 'roughly ground wheat'

*ixdqaq* / = / = / *tixdqaq* / = 'to choose'

*ixef* 'self' (reflexive construction)

*iyyaa* (yi-) / *iyran* (yi-) 'field'

*izi* (yi-) / *izan* (yi-) 'fly'

izzaa / = / = / tizzaa / = 'to go first,  
to precede'  
iždi (yi-) 'sand' (unity noun)  
ižzen (yi-) 'one' (masculine) (the  
Annexed State is only used after  
prepositions)

## K, KK<sup>w</sup>

kalašnikuf / kalašnikufat  
'Kalashnikov'  
kamira / kamirat 'camera'  
karru (u-) / ikarruṭen 'cart'  
kašiṭa / kašiṭat 'music) tape, cassette'  
kemmeř / = / = / tkemmař / tkemmiř  
/ NA akemmeř 'to finish'  
kennint 'you' (feminine plural)  
kenniw 'you' (masculine plural)  
keyyef / = / = / tkeyyaf / = / NA  
akeyyef 'to smoke'  
kisu 'cheese'  
kk / kki-a / kki / tekk / = / NA  
twakkit 'to pass'  
kkaa / = / = / tekkaa / = / NA tnušri  
'to get up, to stand up'  
kkes / = / kkis / tekkes / = / NA tikkest  
'to remove'  
kkʷua / = / = / tekkʷua / = / NA  
tikkʷra 'to insult, to scold'  
kmeř (only Perfective; used as a  
stative verb) 'whole'  
ksi ~ ysi ~ šsi / = / = / kessi / = / NA  
takessit 'to lift, to take'

ktqa 'more'  
kuka / kukaṭ 'coke (soft drink)'  
kukayin 'cocaine'  
kuř ~ mkuř 'every'  
kuřši ~ kušši 'everything'

## L, L<sup>w</sup>

l'islam 'Islam'  
ladař 'politeness'  
lakṣiṭa / lakṣiṭat 'accident'  
lalla 'paternal uncle's wife, polite  
name for lady'  
landris / landrisat 'address'  
lbaļa / lbaļat 'shovel'  
lbanan (collective); tħanant /  
tiħbananin 'banana'  
leeziz 'beloved (one)'  
lfasad 'corruption, rottenness'  
lfawahiš 'fornication, adultery'  
lfilem / lfilmawat ~ l'aflam 'film'  
lfiras (collective); tafirast / tiħfirasin  
'pear'  
lfužza 'immoral acts'  
lħadit / l'ahħadit 'Prophetic tradition'  
lħikma 'wisdom'  
lħubb 'love'  
li'anna 'because'  
lkanisa / lkanisat 'church'  
lkitab / lkutub 'book'  
lla ~ llaħ ~ allah 'God' (mainly in  
set Arabic phrases)

<i>lla</i> 'no'	<i>madža</i> ~ <i>maṛa</i> 'if (hypothetical conjunction)
<i>llažuq</i> (collective); <i>ṭlažuqt</i> / <i>ṭilažuqrin</i> 'brick'	<i>mameš</i> ~ <i>mammeš</i> 'how'
<i>llešin</i> (collective); <i>ṭaleššint</i> / <i>ṭileššinin</i> 'oranges'	<i>maṛmi</i> 'sweetheart'
<i>llewwel</i> 'first'	<i>man</i> 'which'
<i>llif</i> 'sweetheart'	<i>mana</i> 'which'
<i>lmakla</i> 'food'	<i>manawy-</i> 'which'
<i>lmal</i> 'property'	<i>manay-</i> 'which'
<i>lmalik</i> / <i>lmuluk</i> 'king'	<i>mandařina</i> (collective); <i>ṭmandařint</i> / <i>ṭimandařinin</i> 'mandarin'
<i>lmasafa</i> / <i>lmasafat</i> 'distance'	<i>mani</i> 'where'
<i>lmuhimm</i> 'anyway'	<i>manis</i> 'where from'
<i>lmunkar</i> / <i>lmanakir</i> 'sin'	<i>mayar</i> ~ <i>mayaā</i> 'why'
<i>lmueellim</i> / <i>lmueellimin</i> 'teacher'	<i>maṛa</i> ~ <i>madža</i> 'if (hypothetical conjunction)
<i>lqiṣṣa</i> / <i>lqiṣṣat</i> 'story'	<i>marḥba</i> 'welcome'
<i>lwalidin</i> 'parents'	<i>marṛa</i> , <i>mmaṛṛa</i> 'all'
<i>lwelda</i> / <i>lweldat</i> 'womb'	<i>marṛat</i> in <i>ša n marṛat</i> 'sometimes'
<i>lžamiea</i> / <i>lžamieaq</i> 'university'	<i>maša</i> 'but'
<i>lžarima</i> / <i>lžara'im</i> 'crime'	<i>mašša</i> 'food'
<i>lžihad</i> 'holy war'	<i>mayemmi</i> 'why'
<i>lealam</i> / <i>lealamin</i> 'world'	<i>mayen</i> ~ <i>min</i> 'what'
<i>leaşir</i> 'juice'	<i>maziy</i> / <i>imaziyen</i> 'Berber'
<i>leud</i> 'lute'	<i>mbeed</i> 'later, afterwards'
<b>M</b>	
<i>m(u)</i> 'owner of' (feminine)	<i>meεεeš</i> / = / = / <i>tmeεεeš</i> / <i>tmeεεiš</i> NA
<i>ma</i> marker of a yes/no question	<i>ameεεeš</i> 'to beg'
<i>mqaṁita</i> / <i>mqaṁmayet</i> 'metal pan, type of dish'	<i>meelik</i> 'if (counterfactual conjunction)
<i>mqaṭayen</i> 'two times'	<i>meṛmi</i> 'when'

<i>meskin</i> (M), <i>meskina</i> (F), <i>msakin</i> (PL)	<i>mnee</i> / = / <i>mnie</i> / <i>mennee</i> / = / NA
‘poor person’ (used as an expression of compassion)	<i>řemnaeč</i> ‘to withhold, to capture’
<i>mešhač</i> ‘how much, how many’	<i>myač</i> / = / <i>meyyač</i> / = / NA
<i>meeruf</i> / <i>meerufin</i> ‘known’	<i>řemyaat</i> ‘to grow’
<i>mi</i> ~ <i>umi</i> ~ <i>řami</i> ‘when’ (conjunction)	<i>mřadas</i> / = / <i>temřadas</i> / <i>temřidis</i> / NA <i>amřadas</i> ‘to come closer to each other’
<i>midden</i> ‘people (not belonging to “us”)	<i>mřaya</i> / = / <i>mřiyi</i> / <i>temřaya</i> / <i>temřiyi</i> ‘to call each other’
<i>mikaniku</i> / <i>mikanikuč</i> ‘car mechanic’	<i>mřeš</i> / = / <i>mřiš</i> / <i>medžeš</i> / = / NA
<i>milyun</i> ‘million’	<i>řemraš</i> ‘to marry’
<i>missa</i> / <i>missat</i> ‘table’	<i>mřewta</i> / = / <i>mřewti</i> / <i>temřewta</i> / <i>temřewti</i> / NA <i>amřewti</i> ‘to hit each other’
<i>mitayen</i> ‘two hundred’	
<i>mix</i> ‘on what, for what’	<i>mři</i> ‘if’ (counterfactual conjunction)
<i>mkuč</i> ‘each’	<i>Mřič</i> ‘Melilla’
<i>mlih</i> ‘good, well’	<i>msaa</i> / = / (no Imperfective) ‘to happen’
<i>mmaani</i> / = / <i>tmaani</i> / = / NA	<i>mseč</i> / = / <i>msiḥ</i> / <i>messeḥ</i> / = / NA
<i>tmaaniwt</i> ‘to increase’	<i>amsaḥ</i> ‘to clean, to wipe’
<i>mmarra</i> , <i>marra</i> ‘all’	<i>msenned</i> / = / <i>temsennad</i> / <i>temsennid</i> / NA <i>amsenned</i> ‘to lean on each other’
<i>mmenđač</i> / = / <i>tmendjač</i> / = / NA	<i>mseřqa</i> / = / <i>mseřqi</i> / <i>temseřqa</i> / <i>temseřqi</i> / NA <i>amseřqi</i> ‘to meet each other’
<i>amendjač</i> ‘to be thrown away, cast away’	<i>mšed</i> / = / <i>mšid</i> / <i>meššed</i> / = / NA
<i>mmenz</i> / = / <i>tmenza</i> / <i>tmenzi</i> / NA	<i>amšad</i> ‘to comb’
<i>řbieč</i> ‘to be sold’	<i>muč</i> / = / <i>tmuda</i> / <i>tmudi</i> / NA
<i>mmeřqa</i> + <i>ak-</i> / = / <i>mmeřqi</i> / <i>tmeřqa</i> / <i>tmeřqi</i> / NA <i>ameřqi</i> ‘to meet with’	<i>amuči</i> ‘to braid’
<i>mmeřet</i> / <i>mmuč</i> / = / <i>tmetta</i> / <i>tmetti</i> / NA <i>řmewt</i> ‘to die’	
<i>mmi</i> ‘(my) son’	
<i>mney</i> / = / <i>mniy</i> / <i>tmenya</i> / <i>tmenyi</i> / NA <i>amenyi</i> ‘to kill’	

*muka / mukat* 'owl'  
*mun / = / = / tmuna / tmuni / NA*  
*amuni* 'to accompany'  
*munsu / = / = / tmunsiw / = / NA*  
*amensi* 'to have dinner'  
*muřay* 'bridegroom'  
*musežala / musežalat* 'cassette  
 player'  
*mušš (u-) / imuššwen* 'cat'  
*muzika* 'music'  
*muzaa (u-) / imuzaan* 'lock of hair'  
*mxeyyqa* 'the best'  
*mya ~ myat* 'hunderd' (the form  
 myat is used before a few nouns  
 such a 'year')  
*mžaa / = / = / ttemžara / ttemžara ~*  
*ttemžiri* 'to see each other, to  
 meet each other (on purpose)'  
*mžaa / = / = / mežzaa / = / NA*  
*timeyra* 'to harvest, to reap'  
*mea* 'and' (clause coordinator)

*ney / nyi~a / nyi / neqq / = / NA*  
*čamenyiwt* 'to kill'  
*nehřa* 'no need'  
*nešš* 'I'  
*neššin* 'we'  
*netta* 'he'  
*nettač* 'she'  
*nyed / = / nyid / neyyed / = /* 'to  
 pulverize'  
*nhqa / nhurat* 'one day' (adverb)  
*ni [ny] / nyi~a / nyi / nnay / =* 'to  
 mount, to get in'  
*niy* 'or' (conjunction)  
*nišan* 'right, straight' (adverb)  
*níženti ~ nihenti* 'they' (feminine)  
*nížni ~ níhni* 'they' (masculine)  
*Nnađuč* 'Nador'  
*nmed / nned / nnid / tenned / = / NA*  
*unuđ* 'to spin, to turn'  
*nmedfes / = / = / tneđfas / tnedfis* 'to  
 be folded'  
*nneđni ~ nneyni* 'other'  
*nneyney / = / = / tneynay / tneyniy /*  
*NA aneyney* 'to stutter'  
*nneyni ~ nneđni* 'other'  
*nneqřeb / = / = / tneqřab / tneqřib /*  
*NA aneqřeb* 'to turn around, to  
 flip'  
*nnewwaš* (collective); *čanewwaš /*  
*činewwašin* 'plant (generic term)'  
*nnhqa / nnhura ~ ussan (wu)* 'day'  
*nni* 'that' (postnominal deictic)

## N

*n* 'of'  
*ndaa / = / = / neřtaa / =* 'to throw'  
*ndeh / = / ndih / neddeh / = / NA*  
*andah* 'to drive, to guide'  
*nđeq / = / nđiq / neteq / =* 'to  
 declare, to start speaking'  
*nđu [nđw] / = / nđiw ~ nđu / nettu /*  
*= / NA andaw* 'to jump'

*nnit* 'that very' (pronominal  
emphasizer, see 5.3)

*nnużem* / = / = / *tnużem* / = 'to  
be opened'

*nnuffaa* / = / = / *tnuffaa* / = / NA  
anuffaa 'to hide'

*nnwaaq* (collective) 'plant, flower'  
*nqes* / = / *nqis* / *neqges* / = / NA  
anqas 'to decrease'

*ns* / *nsi~a* / *nsi* / *tnusa* ~ *tnus* / *tnusi*  
~ *tnus* / NA *taṁensiwt* 'to spend  
the night, to sleep over'

*Nunža* 'Nunja' (name of a female  
fairy tale character)

*ŋw* / *ŋwi~a* / *ŋwi* / *tnenna* / *tnenni* /  
NA *tnennit* 'to be cooked, to be  
ripe'

## P, P̄

*paħbu* (u-) / *ipħabu* 'turkey'  
*pappa* 'bread' (baby language)  
*pašapuarti* / *pasapuarti* 'passport'  
*paštiyya* / *paštiyyat* 'pill'  
*patrun* (u-) / *ipatrunen* 'boss,  
manager'  
*payas* ~ *ħħaya* (u-) / *ipayasen* ~  
*ħħaya* 'mattress'  
*pintura* / *pinturat* 'paint'  
*pulisiyya* / *pulisiyyat* 'police'  
*puřki* 'because'

## Y

*ya* allomorph of the preverbal  
particle *ad*

*yaa* 'only' (adverb)

*yaa* 'to, at' (preposition)

*yaa* / *yri~a* / *yri* / *qqaa* / = / NA *tyuri*  
'to read, to study, to learn'

*yaaq* / = / = / *yarreq* / = / NA *ayraq*  
'to be stuck, to drown'

*yaaq* / = / = / *yarres* ~ *qqaaq* / = / NA  
*ayraq* ~ *tyaaqit* 'to tear, to slaughter'

*yabyuṭa* / *yabyuṭat* 'sea gull'

*yenneż* / = / = / *tyenneż* / = / NA  
*ayenneż* 'to sing'

*yidu* (u-) / *iyidwen* (i-) 'rolag, bundle  
of washed and carded wool'

*yez* / *ħħizi~a* / *ħħizi* / *qqaz* / *qqiz* / NA  
*tyuzi* 'to dig'

*yia* / = / = / *tyia* / = / NA *ħyira* 'to be  
jealous'

## Q

*qa* present relevance particle (see  
8.1 and 13.4.1)

*qaqadeš* / = / = / *tqaqadeš* / = / NA  
*aqaqadeš* 'to card'

*qama* / *qamat* 'bed'

*qarreb* / = / = / *tqarreb* / *tqarrib* / NA  
*aqarreb* 'to approach, to move  
closer'

<i>qaε</i> 'completely' (adverb)	<i>rah / ruh / = / trah / trih / NA trahit</i>
<i>qbeř / = / qbiř / qebberě / = / NA aqbař</i>	<i>'to go'</i>
<i>'to accept'</i>	
<i>qbeř</i> 'before' (preposition)	<i>řalla</i> 'madame, paternal uncle's wife'
<i>qda / = / qdi / qetṭa / qetṭi</i> 'to be finished (e.g. food), to become thin'	<i>řami</i> 'when' (conjunction)
<i>qedda</i> 'such an amount' (adverb)	<i>řaz</i> 'hunger'
<i>qess / = / tqessa / tqessi / NA aqessi</i> 'to cut'	<i>raža / = / ržiži / třaža / třiži / NA tražit</i> 'to wait'
<i>qeždeh / = / tqeždeh / tqeždih / NA aqeždeh</i> 'to limp'	<i>řbanku / řbankawat</i> 'bank'
<i>qibař</i> 'before' (preposition)	<i>řbař</i> 'mind'
<i>qgen / = / qqin / teqgen / = / NA tiyuni</i> 'to close, to tie up'	<i>řbašua</i> (collective); <i>řbašuat</i> / <i>řibašuarin</i> 'fig'
<i>qqim / = / tyima / tyimi / NA ayimi</i> 'to sit, to remain'	<i>řbumba / řbumbat</i> 'bomb'
<i>qra / qři-a / qři / qedža / qedži / NA qedžu</i> 'to fry (in oil)'	<i>řebda</i> 'always' (adverb)
<i>qřeb / = / qřib / qedžeb / = / NA aqedžeb</i> 'to turn around, to flip, to try, to taste'	<i>řebħaa / řebħurat</i> 'sea'
<i>qubbu (u-) / iqubbuten (i-)</i> 'cloak, djellaba'	<i>řebni</i> 'building'
<i>quči (u-) / iqučiten</i> 'car'	<i>řebšeř</i> (collective); <i>tabšeč</i> / <i>tibšeřin</i> 'onion'
<b>Ř, R, Ř</b>	<i>řebħeq / = / třeħħag / třeħħig / NA ařeħħeg</i> 'to arrive'
<i>řa</i> 'also'	<i>řehmu</i> 'heat'
<i>řa...řa</i> 'neither... nor'	<i>řeħram</i> 'something forbidden by religion'
<i>řaya / = / řiyi / třaya / třiyi / NA ařayi</i> 'to call'	<i>řeħria</i> 'silk'
	<i>řeħruq</i> (plurale tantum) 'seasoning'
	<i>řeħsab / řeħsabat</i> 'counting, bill'

řeknina / řeknina<sup>t</sup> 'pill'  
 řemhiamet<sup>t</sup> / řemhiamat<sup>t</sup>  
 'handkerchief'  
 řeybaa 'manure'  
 řeynuž 'songs'  
 řes / řsi~a / řsi / tress ~ řessa 'to shave sheep'  
 řešuq (collective); tasežžaqat (t-) / tisežžuqa (t-) 'tree'  
 řexbqa / řexbura<sup>t</sup> 'news'  
 řexdenni 'then, at that moment'  
 řexxu 'now' (adverb)  
 řežbub<sup>t</sup> 'pockets' (plural of řžib<sup>t</sup>)  
 řeždu<sup>t</sup> 'ancestors'  
 řeedu / řeedawa<sup>t</sup> 'enemy'  
 řeeqeř / řequř ~ řequřat<sup>t</sup> 'mind'  
 řfaaq 'difference'  
 řfaxqa 'coals'  
 řferfeř (collective); tiferfeč / tiferfřin 'paprika'  
 řgeedet<sup>t</sup> 'plateau'  
 řgih 'puss'  
 řha / = / řhi / řehha / řehhi / NA  
 řehhu 'to be busy'  
 řhaad / řehrud 'talk, chatter'  
 řhař 'situation'  
 řhažet<sup>t</sup> / řehwayež 'thing'  
 řhenni 'henna'  
 řheqq / řhuquq 'right'  
 řhiđ / řhyud<sup>t</sup> 'wall'  
 řkas / řkisan 'glass'  
 řkaži / řekwaži 'window'  
 řkuasi / řekrasa ~ řekrasi 'chair'  
 řmaqa / řmaqsa<sup>t</sup> 'harbor'  
 řmaqra / řmaqra<sup>t</sup> 'frying pan'  
 řmař 'livestock'  
 řmed / = / řmid<sup>t</sup> / řemmed / = / NA  
 ařmad 'to learn'  
 řmeskin / řemsakin 'poor being'  
 řmexzen 'governement,  
 government officials'  
 řmežmaq / řemžamqa<sup>t</sup> 'barbecue'  
 řmežra / řemžari 'drainage'  
 řmudd 'measure for cereals'  
 řmus / řemwas 'knife'  
 řyabet / řeywabi 'forest'  
 řqa / = / řqi / řeqqa / řeqqi 'to bump into, to meet spontaneously'  
 řqađi / řquđat<sup>t</sup> 'judge'  
 řqanun / lqawarin 'law' (in the plural only the Standard Arabic form is used)  
 řqebb / řeqbub 'hood'  
 řqeħwa / řeqħawi 'coffee, café'  
 řqenđaa<sup>t</sup> / řeqnadaa 'bridge'  
 řqendiř / řeqnadeř 'oil lamp'  
 řqišsa / řqišsat<sup>t</sup> 'story'  
 řraqem / l'arqam 'number'  
 ru / = / = / tru / = 'to cry'  
 řweħš / řuħuš 'animal, beast'  
 řwešt 'middle'  
 řxaa 'good thing'  
 řxađaa<sup>t</sup> / řexwađaa<sup>t</sup> 'wish'  
 řxedmet<sup>t</sup> / řexdayem 'work'

řeawda / řeawdat 'mare'  
 řeebd 'human being, worshipper'  
 řeškqa 'army'  
 řeuš / řeawaš 'nest, scardy-cow'

## S, Š

sadu ~ adu 'under' (preposition)  
 řafî 'enough'  
 řala / řalat 'drawing room'  
 sara / = / = / tsara / tsari / NA asari  
 'to walk, to stroll, to visit'  
 sawem / = / siwem / tsawem / tsiwim  
 / NA asawem 'to negotiate a  
 price'  
 řbqa / = / = / řebbqa / = / NA řbbqa  
 'to be patient'  
 řbedd / = / = / řbedda / řbeddi / NA  
 asbeddi 'to stop, make stop'  
 řbeh / = / sbih (no Imperfective) 'to  
 be nice, good, beautiful'  
 řbečtaš ~ řbečtašqa 'seventeen' (the  
 form řbečtašqa is used before a  
 few nouns such as 'year')  
 řebbqa / = / = / tsebbqa / = / NA  
 ašebbqa 'to give patience (the  
 subject often being God)'  
 řbea ~ řbee 'seven' (the form řbea  
 is used before a few nouns such  
 as 'year')  
 řbečin 'seventy'

ſeddee / = / = / tſeddae / tſeddie / NA  
 ſſdee 'to disturb'  
 ſedžem / = / = / tſedžam / tſedžim /  
 NA asedžem ~ ſſram 'to greet, to  
 shake hands'  
 ſekſu ~ ſeyſu 'couscous'  
 ſellem / = / = / tſellam / tſellim 'to  
 allow, to hand over'  
 ſemſeřqa / = / ſemſeřqi / ſemſeřqa /  
 ſemſeřqi / NA aſemſeřqi 'to make  
 meet'  
 ſennež 'above'  
 ſenni 'from there'  
 ſey / ſyi-a / ſyi / ſſay / ſſiy / NA  
 ſameſyiw 'to buy'  
 ſeqſa / = / ſeqſi / tſeqſa / tſeqſi / NA  
 aſeqſi 'to ask'  
 ſer / ſri-a / ſri / teſra / teſri 'to  
 hear'  
 ſetta ~ ſett 'six' (the form ſett is  
 used before a few nouns such as  
 'year')  
 ſettaš ~ ſettašqa 'sixteen' (the form  
 ſettašqa is used before a few  
 nouns such as 'year')  
 ſettin 'sixty'  
 ſewwqa / = / = / tſewwqa / = / NA  
 aſewwqa 'to take a picture, to  
 draw'  
 ſeyyeh / = / = / tſeyyah / tſeyyiħ /  
 NA aſeyyeh 'to spill (liquid)'

sežžel / = / = / tsežžal / tsežžil / NA  
asežžel 'to record'

seεea 'however'

sgenfa / = / sgenfi / sgenfa / sgenfi /  
NA asgenfi 'to heal, to make better'

shaqaq / = / = / sharraq / sharriq 'to  
burn'

shess / = / = / shessa / shessi / NA  
ashessi 'to listen'

sidi 'Sir'

simant 'self' (reflexive pronoun)

sinta / sintat 'tape'

siyi / = / = / tsiyi / = / NA asiyi 'to  
continue'

sirkulasyun 'traffic'

smeħ / = / smiħ / semmeħ / = / NA  
ssmaħet 'to forgive, to excuse'

smun / = / = / smuna / smuni / NA  
asmuni 'to bring together, to  
gather'

sna / snin 'year' (adverb or in  
counting higher than ten)

spiṭaq / spiṭaraq 'hospital'

sqaq / = / = / tesqara / tesqari / NA  
sskat 'to be quiet'

sqarreb / = / = / sqarrab / = / NA  
asqarreb 'to make approach, to  
move'

šreh / = / šriħ / šedžeh / = / NA ašraħ  
'to reconcile, to make good'

ssa 'from here'

şsaa / = / = / teşşaa / = / NA şşutra  
'to soothe, to shield'

ssaas / = / = / ssrusa / ssrusi 'to put  
down'

ssaqawet / = / = / ssarwaṭ / = / NA  
asqaawet 'to thresh'

şşabun (collective); tħabunt /  
tiħabunin 'soap, piece of soap'

ssbeeed / = / = / ssbeeedad / ssbeeedid  
/ NA asbeeed 'to remove'

sseħbi / ssħasa 'hasheesh pipe'

sseħħaa / = / = / ssedħara / ssedħari  
/ NA aseħħaa 'to show'

ssedħa / = / ssedħi / ssedħa / ssedħi /  
NA aseħħi 'to be ashamed'

ssedžum / ssrä̠em 'ladder'

ssefhem / = / = / ssefham / ssefhem /  
NA asefhem 'to explain, to make  
understand'

ssefsi / = / = / ssefsay / = / NA asefsi  
'to melt, to unwrap'

sseft 'Saturday'

şseħq 'heat'

şseħħ 'truth'

şseħħet 'health'

sseħħma / = / sseħħmi / ssħħma / ssħħmi  
/ NA asħħmi 'to make warm'

sseħħunneq / = / = / sseħħunnuq / =  
/ NA aseħħunneq 'to wrap'

ssekki / = / = / ssekka / ssekki / NA  
asekki 'to send'

ssekkaa / = / = / snakkaa / = 'to  
 wake up, make get up'  
 ssekwila / ssekwilat 'school'  
 ssem̄ / ssumum 'poison'  
 ssemney / = / = / ss̄menya / ss̄menyi  
 / NA asmenyi 'to make fight'  
 ssen / = / ss̄in / tessen / = / NA  
 t̄imessna 'to know'  
 ssenni 'by there, from there'  
 ssens / = / = / ss̄nusa / ss̄nusi / NA  
 tamensiwt ~ asensi 'to make  
 somebody spend the night'  
 ssens̄et / ss̄naseř 'chain'  
 ssenta / = / ss̄enti / (no  
 Imperfective) 'to start, to begin'  
 ssejw / = / = / snenna / snenni / NA  
 assejwi 'to cook'  
 ss̄neet / ss̄nayee 'handi)craft'  
 sseqsa / = / sseqsi / tseqsa / tseqsi /  
 NA aseqsi 'to ask'  
 ssesmed / = / = / ssesmađ / ssesmiđ /  
 NA asessmed 'to make cold, to  
 freeze'  
 sseš / = / = / ssešša / ssešši / NA  
 asešši 'to feed'  
 ssewžed / = / = / ssewžad / = / NA  
 asewžed 'to prepare'  
 ssexşaq / = / = / ssexşara / ssexşiri /  
 NA asexşaq 'to spoil'  
 ssexsi / = / = / sxessay / = / NA asexsi  
 'to extinguish'  
 sseyyed / ss̄yad 'Sir, Saint'  
 sseed 'luck'  
 ssi 'Sir, saint' (shortened form of  
 sseyyed)  
 ss̄iad / = / = / ss̄irid / = / NA asiad  
 'to wash'  
 ssiąd / = / = / s̄iarred / = / NA asiąd  
 'to dress (somebody)'  
 ssibba / řesbab 'reason, cause'  
 ss̄idef / = / = / ss̄adaf / ss̄idif / NA  
 asidef 'to make enter'  
 ss̄ifeſ / = / = / ss̄ifif / = / NA asifeſ 'to  
 sieve'  
 ss̄igg"ed / = / = / ss̄agg"ad / ss̄igg"id  
 / NA asigg"ed 'to frighten'  
 ssiheř / = / = / ssaňař / ssiňiř / NA  
 asiheř 'to make tired'  
 ssiwed / = / = / ss̄akk"ad / ss̄ikk"id /  
 NA asiwed 'to take, to make  
 reach'; ssiwed ss̄ram (+ indirect  
 object) 'give regards to'  
 ssiweř / = / = / ss̄awař / ssiwiř 'to  
 talk'  
 ss̄izzeř / = / = / ss̄azzar / ss̄izzir / NA  
 asizzeř 'to make run'  
 ss̄izž / = / = / ssaňza / ssiňzi / NA  
 asiňzi 'to peek'  
 ss̄ru / = / = / = / 'to make cry'  
 ss̄šen / = / = / ss̄šan / ss̄in / NA  
 asešni 'to show'  
 ss̄tupp / ss̄tuppař 'traffic light'  
 ss̄udeš / = / = / ss̄uduš / = / NA asudeš  
 'to make sleep'

<i>ssufey</i> / = / = / <i>ssufuy</i> / = / NA <i>asufey</i>	<i>šab</i> / = / <i>šib</i> / <i>tšaba</i> / <i>tšibi</i> / NA <i>ašabi</i>
‘to get out, to let out’	‘to become grey’
<i>ssuq</i> / <i>řeswaq</i> ‘market’	<i>šappu</i> (u-) / <i>išuppa</i> ‘hat’
<i>ssuṭaa</i> / = / = / <i>ssuṭara</i> / = / NA	<i>šar</i> (u-) ‘ground, clay’
asuṭaa ‘to demand, to ask’	<i>šaššu</i> (u-) / <i>išaššuṭen</i> ‘wooden
<i>ssyem</i> / = / = / <i>ssyam</i> / <i>ssyim</i> / NA	frame of a sieve’
asyam ‘to raise’	<i>šdeh</i> / = / <i>šdih</i> / <i>šetṭeh</i> / = / NA <i>ššdih</i>
<i>ssyiwen</i> / = / = / <i>ssyawan</i> / <i>ssyiwin</i> /	‘to dance’
NA <i>asyawen</i> ‘to make full’	<i>šedd</i> / = / = / <i>tšedda</i> / <i>tšeddi</i> / NA
<i>ssaa</i> / = / = / <i>ssara</i> / <i>ssari</i> ‘to get	<i>ašeddi</i> ‘to close’
drunk’	<i>šeḥrayen</i> ‘two months’
<i>stilu</i> / <i>stilawaṭ</i> ‘pen’	<i>šek</i> ~ <i>šekk</i> ‘you’ (masculine
<i>su</i> [sw] / <i>swi</i> ~ <i>a</i> / <i>swi</i> / <i>sess</i> / = / NA	singular)
<i>tissi</i> ‘to drink’	<i>šem</i> ~ <i>šemm</i> ‘you’ (feminine
<i>susef</i> / = / = / <i>susuf</i> / = / NA <i>asusef</i>	singular)
‘to spit’	<i>šem</i> / = / = / <i>tšemma</i> / <i>tšemmi</i> / NA
<i>şuḍ</i> / = / = / <i>tşuḍ</i> / = / NA <i>aşuḍi</i> ‘to	<i>ašemmi</i> ‘to smell’
blow’	<i>şhaq</i> ~ <i>şhar</i> / <i>şhurat</i> ‘one month’
<i>şurif</i> (u-) / <i>işuraf</i> ‘step’	(adverb)
<i>swa</i> / = / <i>swi</i> / <i>sekkʷa</i> / <i>sekkʷi</i> / NA	<i>şmes</i> / = / <i>şmis</i> / <i>şemmes</i> / = / NA
<i>asekkʷi</i> ‘to cost’	<i>ašemsi</i> ‘to package, to put in’
<i>swadday</i> ‘down, below’	<i>şnef</i> / = / <i>şnif</i> / <i>şennef</i> / = / NA <i>şanif</i>
<i>sxef</i> / = / = / <i>sexxfef</i> / = / NA <i>asxfaf</i> ‘to	‘to roast, to grill’
faint’	<i>şqa</i> / = / <i>şqi</i> / (no Imperfective) ‘to
	care’ + indirect object, e.g. <i>waa</i>
	<i>das-şqiy</i> ‘he does not care about
	me.’;
	<i>şş</i> / <i>şši</i> ~ <i>a</i> / <i>şši</i> / <i>tett</i> / = / NA <i>mašša</i>
	‘eat’
	<i>şşqa</i> ~ <i>şşuq</i> / = / = / <i>teşşqa</i> ~ <i>teşşua</i> / =
	‘to fill’

## Ş

*şa* postverbal negative marker  
*şaaf* / = / = / *şarref* / = / NA *ašraf* ‘to tie’  
*şaaz* / = / = / *şarrez* / = / NA *tıyaaza*  
 (t-) ‘to plough, to work the land.’

ššaqšaq / = / = / tšaqšuq / = / NA  
 ašaršaq 'to cluck'  
 ššabab 'youth'  
 ššarie / ššawarie 'street'  
 ššarika / ššarikat 'company'  
 ššayr 'evilness'  
 ššenšuna / ššenšunat 'kind of tambourine with bells on the side'  
 ššee / = / = / tšeē / tšie 'to light, to put on'  
 ššhaq 'month'  
 ššiyan / ššayaṭin 'devil'  
 ššmeē (collective); tšumeett / tšumeaṭin 'candle'  
 ššuxrēt / = / = / ššuxruṭ / = / NA  
 ašuxrēt 'to snore'  
 ššeeṛ (collective); tašeēṛešt (no plural) 'matches'  
 šuaḍu (u-) / išuaḍan 'flee'  
 šway ~ šwayt 'a bit'

## T, T̄, T̄

taabift (taa-) / taabibin (taa-) 'stepdaughter'  
 tqaq / = / = / (no Imperfective) 'to leave alone' + indirect object, e.g. tqaq-as 'let him go!'  
 tqaṭwa (tqaq-) 'children'  
 taayast (taa-) 'courage'  
 t̄abritt (te-) / t̄ibridin (te-) 'path'

taddaṭ (ta-) / t̄udrin (tu-) 'house'  
 tađehħašt (t-) / t̄ideħħašin (t-) 'laughter'  
 t̄adunt (ta-) 'fat, grease'  
 tafedžaħt (t-) / t̄ifedžaħin (t-) 'female farmer'  
 tafřawt (t-) / t̄ifeřwin (t-) 'wood'  
 taftič (te-) / t̄iftiřin (te-) 'fuse'  
 tafunast (t-) / t̄ifunasin (t-) 'cow'  
 tahebbušt (t-) / t̄ihebba (t-) 'grain, pimple, spot'  
 taħenžiaṭ (t-) / t̄iħenžirin (t-) 'girl'  
 taħrant (t-) / t̄iħramin (t-) 'girl'  
 taħraymešt (te-) 'slyness'  
 takešša (t-) / t̄ikeššawin (t-) 'worm'  
 takeššuṭṭ (t-) / t̄ikeššuđin (t-) 'small stick, toothpick'  
 takettant (t-) / t̄ikettanin (t-) 'cloth'  
 talwist (te-) / t̄ilwizin (te-) 'piece of gold'  
 tameđdit (t-) 'evening'  
 tamedžač (t-) / t̄imedžařin (t-) 'egg'  
 tameħtašt (t-) / timeħtaš (t-) 'woman who fetches grass'  
 tamesrent (t-) / t̄imseřmin (t-) 'Muslim woman, Islam'  
 tameseešt (t-) / t̄imesein (t-) 'female beggar'  
 tameṭṭut (t-) / t̄imeṭṭutin (t-) 'women'  
 tammuat (AS : tmuat) / timura (t-) 'land'

ṭamyaqt (te-) / ṭimyarin (te-) 'woman'

ṭamšunt (te-) / ṭimšumin (te-) 'naughty woman, wicked woman'

ṭamza (ta-) / ṭamziwin (ta-) 'ogress'

ṭamzyida (t-) / ṭimzidawin (te-) 'mosque'

ṭandint (te-) / ṭineddam (t-) 'city'

ṭaneyda (t-) 'powder'

tanexxač (t-) 'chaff'

tanyaat (te-) / tanyarin (te-) 'forehead'

tanyana 'again' (adverb)

tayarrabut (t-) / ṭiyarruba (t-) 'small boat'

tayenžast (t-) / ṭiyenžayin (t-) 'spoon'

taymaqt (te-) / ṭiyemriwin (t-) 'corner'

tayyuč (te-) / ṭiyyar (te-) 'female donkey'

ṭaqbušt (te-) / ṭiqubaš (t-) 'small water jug'

taqedduh̄t (t-) / ṭiqedduh̄in (t-) 'tin box, plastic can'

taqečešt (t-) / ṭiqereiyin (t-) 'woman from the Iqeřeyen (Guelaia, around Nador) people (tribe)'

ṭaqidunt (t-) / ṭiqidān (t-) 'small tent'

ṭaṛa (ta-) / ṭaṛiwin (ta-) 'water source, fresh water pool'

tarifešt (t-) / ṭirifiyin 'Riffian woman, Riffian language'

(traditionally this refers to the Berber groups west of Iqeřeyen; in modern usage it often includes the latter)

ṭaṛyent (te-) / ṭireymin (t-) 'female camel'

ṭasaadunt (t-) / ṭisaadunin (t-) 'female mule'

ṭasebnešt (t-) / ṭisebniyyin (t-) 'traditional headscarf with strings'

ṭašpanyut (te-) / ṭispuṇya (te-) 'Spanish (woman, language)'

ṭasṛit (te-) / ṭisṛat̄in (te-) 'bride'

ṭašemmust (t-) / ṭišemsin (t-) 'wrap'

ṭašna (ta-) / ṭašniwin (ta-) 'other wife of the same husband'

ṭawwuqt (te-) / ṭiwwura (te-) 'door'

ṭaxedmešt (t-) / ṭixedmiyyin (t-) 'butcher's knife'

ṭayaqazist (t-) / ṭayaqazizin (t-) 'female hare'

ṭayduat (te-) / ṭiyudaa (t-) 'milk jar'

ṭayužič (t-) / ṭiyužirin (t-) 'orphan girl'

ṭayya (ta-) / ṭayyawin ~ ṭayyaṭin (ta-) 'female slave'

ṭayyawt (ta-) / ṭayyawin (t-) 'granddaughter, daughter of man/father's sister'

*tazeeggʷaaṭ (t-)* 'kind of shrub (Ziziphus lotus)'

*tazeqqə (t-)* / *tiżeywin (t-)* 'roof'

*tażewḍa (t-)* / *tiżewḍiwin (t-)* 'big wooden plate for eating couscous'

*tażiri (t-)* 'full moon'

*tażruṭ (te-)* / *tiżra (te-)* 'small stone, battery'

*tazyawt (te-)* / *tiżyawin (te-)* 'basket'

*tažditt / tiżdad* 'small bird'

*tažedžaft (t-)* / *tižedžabin (t-)* 'small djellaba, small gown'

*taeeddist (t-)* / *tięeddisin (t-)* 'belly'

*taešmaaṭ (t-)* / *tięešmura (t-)* 'small beard'

*taežžašt (t-)* / *tięežžažin (t-)* 'dust'

*taeraft (ta-)* / *taęraqbin (ta-)* 'Arabic (woman, language)'

*tħayṛa / tiħayṛiwin* 'crow'

*tħee / = / tħie / tebħee / = / NA atħae* 'to follow'

*tħitešt* 'small room'

*tħuaqżet / tiħuaqżat̫in* 'small window'

*temzi* 'childhood'

*teneaš ~ teneašqa* 'twelve' (the form *teneašqa* is used before a few nouns such as 'year')

*tesea ~ tsee* 'nine' (the form *tsee* is used before a few nouns such as 'year')

*tesein* 'ninety'

*tfawkt ~ tfawt / tiħawin (t-)* 'light'

*tfiyyra / tiħiyyrat̫in (t-)* 'snake'

*tfust / tiħassin (t-)* 'small hand, round of dance'

*tiħanet / tiħuna (t-)* 'shop'

*tiħažit / tiħuža (t-)* 'story, funny anecdote, fairy tale'; *tiħažitt n twafit* 'riddle'

*tiħažet (t-)* / *tiħażin (t-)* 'sintel'

*tidaatt (ti-)* / *tiħdrin (ti-)* 'ear (of wheat, maize, etc.)'

*tiħet* 'truth'

*tiħaašt (t-)* / *tiħfray (t-)* 'leaf'

*tiġġest (ti-)* / *tiġġaz (ti-)* 'tattoo'

*tiħmessa (t-)* 'fire'

*tiħmežmaq (t-)* / *ħemžamaq* 'barbecue'

*tiħmimi (ti-)* / *tiħammiwin (ta-)* 'eyebrow'

*tiħini ~ tiħyni (ti-)* 'date'

*tiħiġit (ti-)* 'wisdom'

*tiħykest (te-)* / *tiħyemas (te-)* 'tooth'

*tiħreft (ti-)* / *tiħrafat̫in (ti-)* 'sow'

*tiħrettet (t-)* / *tiħredwin (t-)* 'little finger'

*tiħri (ti-)* / *tiħriwin (ti-)* 'shadow'

*tiħri* 'probably'

*tiħineft (t-)* / *tiħinaf (t-)* 'needle, inoculation'

*tiħeđfet ~ tiħeđfet (t-)* / *tiħeđfin ~ tiħeđfin (t-)* 'ant'

*tiħiġi (te-)* / *tiħiyyiha (te-)* 'blow'

*tiħiġi (ti-)* / *tiħiġawin (ti-)* 'eye'

*tiweša* (*ti-*) 'tomorrow'  
*tiwazat̫in* (*ti-*) (plurale tantum)  
 'unripe wheat'  
*txisi* (*te-*) / *txeswin* (*t-*) 'sheep'  
*tiyuqit* ~ *tyaqut* / *tiyaquṭin* (*t-*)  
 'pearle'  
*tizi* (*ti-*) 'corridor, own interest',  
 e.g. *igg-it i tizi nnes* 'he did it in his  
 own interest'  
*tkaseš* / *tikasiyin* 'small glass'  
*tmaqamit̫at* / *tmaqamit̫at̫in* (*t-*) 'small  
 cooking pan'  
*tmaat̫* / *timira* (*t-*) 'beard'  
*tmanyin* 'eighty'  
*tmaqṛat* / *timaqṛiwin* (*t-*) 'small  
 frying pan'  
*tmazixt* / *timaziyin* (*t-*) 'Berber  
 (woman, language)'  
*tmenṭaš* ~ *tmenṭašqā* 'eighteen' (the  
 form *tmenṭašqā* is used before a  
 few nouns such as 'year')  
*tmenya* ~ *tmen* 'eight' (the form  
*tmen* is used before a few nouns  
 such as 'year')  
*tmizža* / *timizžawin* (*t-*) 'throat'  
*tnayen* 'two'  
*tpabut* / *tipabut̫in* (*t-*) 'turkey, duck'  
*tyaqadent* / *tiyaqadmiwin* (*t-*)  
 'scorpion'  
*tyat̫* / *tiyat̫in* (*t-*) 'goat'  
*tyiř* (invariable pseudo-verb) 'to  
 think that, to suppose that'; the  
 person who thinks is expressed  
 by an IO pronoun, e.g. *tyiř-ayi*  
*yus-d* = 'I thought that he had  
 come.', see 8.4  
*tyuyyit* / *tiyuyya* (*t-*) 'scream'  
*tqaaqra* / *tiqaaqriwin* (*t-*) 'frog'  
*tqubeht* / *tiqubeat̫in* (*t-*) 'bird'  
*tquqqušt* / *tiquqqušin* (*t-*) 'eye'  
 (baby language)  
*trata* ~ *tert̫* 'three' (the form *tert̫* is  
 used before a few nouns such as  
 'year')  
*trat̫in* 'thirty'  
*treṭṭaš* ~ *treṭṭašqā* 'thirteen' (the  
 form *treṭṭašqā* is used before a few  
 nouns such as 'year')  
*trist* 'sheep fur, fleece'  
*tsa* / *tisawin* (*t-*) 'liver'  
*tseṭṭaš* ~ *tseṭṭašqā* 'nineteen' (the  
 form *tseṭṭašqā* is used before a  
 few nouns such as 'year')  
*tsiřit* / *tisiřa* (*t-*) 'shoe'  
*tsunet̫* / *tišunad* (*t-*) 'swaddling  
 cloth'  
*tsea* ~ *tsee* 'nine' (the form *tsee* is  
 used before a few nouns such as  
 'year')  
*tšamma* / *tšammat̫* 'ball'  
*tšumeet* / *tišumeat̫in* (*t-*) 'candle'  
*ttaa* / = / *tettaa* / = / NA *tuṭra* 'to  
 ask for, to beg'  
*ttaaf* 'next to, on the side of'

ttažaq / ttwažaq ‘rich person, salesman’

ttebřa / = / ttebři / ttebřa / ttebři / NA ttebřiyyet ‘to be addicted’

ťtef / = / ťtif / tetťef / tetťef / NA ađaf ‘to catch, to get’

tteffah (collective); tateffah / ťteffahin ‘apple’

ttehqiq ‘checking’

ťteš / = / ťtiš / tetteš / = / NA iđeš ‘to sleep’

ťtiyara / ťtiyarat ‘airplane’

ttmenyat ‘money’

ťtřam ‘darkness’

ttu / = / = / tettu / = / NA twattuť ‘to forget’

ťtumubin / ťtumubinat ‘car’

ťuatať / tuaťatín ‘small fig tree’

tub / = / = / ttuba / ttubi / NA atubi ‘repent’

ťuddint / ťudunin ‘drop’

ťumaťiš (collective); ťtumatiš / ťtumatišin ‘tomato’

tuya (in negation : tuyi) past particle, see 8.2 and 13.4.2

tušent (tu-) / tušanin (tu-) ‘female jackal’

ťwařa / ťwařatín (t-) ‘a time, an occasion’

twařa / twiři (only Imperfective) ‘to see, to be able to see’

twašaaz / = / = (no Imperfective) ‘to be ploughed’

twasizzeř / = / = (no Imperfective) ‘to be made run’

twasš / = / = / (no Imperfective) ‘to be eaten’

twazžu / = / = / (no Imperfective) ‘to be planted’

txadent / tixudam (t-) ‘ring’

txanšet / tixunšay (t-) ‘sack’

tiyuqit ~ ťyaqut / ťiyaqutin (t-) ‘pearl’

tyayt feminine plural for tribal affiliation prefix, see 3.5

tyazit / ťiyazidin (t-) ‘chicken’

teellem / = / = / teellam / teellim ‘to learn’

## U

uay (wuą-) ‘gold’

uaťu (wua-) / uaťan (wua-) ‘fig tree’

učma ~ wečma (we-) / issma (yi-) ‘sister’

uddaqbbi ‘probably, supposedly’

udem (wu-) / udmawen (wu-) ‘face’

udum / = / = / tudum / = / NA ćudint ‘to drip’

uma / awmaťen (wa-) ‘brother’

umi ‘to whom’, see 15.2.3

uř (wu-) / uřawen (wu-) ‘heart’

uřa 'also, neither' (constructed with the predicative particle *d*), e.g. uřa *d* nešš 'me too'  
 uraa (*wu-*) / uraan (*wu-*) 'wedding'  
 uřu (*wu-*) / uřuten (*wu-*) 'handful, Euro'  
 ussan (*wu-*) (plural of the singular *nmhqa*) 'days, period'  
 usu / = / = / tusu / = / NA *tusut* 'to cough'  
 uša 'then' (coordinator)  
 ušša (*wu-*) / uššayen (*wu-*) 'greyhound'  
 uššen (*wu-*) / uššanen (*wu-*) 'jackal'  
 uyua / = / = / ggua / = / NA *tišči* 'to walk'

## W

waa ~ war preverbal negative particle  
 waa ... řa ... řa 'neither ... nor'  
 waa ... uřa... 'neither ... nor'  
 waadži negator of non-verbal predicates  
 waa-ssi 'I do not know'  
 wah 'yes'  
 waha 'only, just' (adverb)  
 walakin 'but' (conjunction)  
 walayenni 'but' (conjunction)  
 walu 'nothing'

waxxa 'even though (conjunction), okay'  
 wđa / wđi~a / wđi / weđta / wetti / NA *weđtu* 'to fall'  
 wedđař / = / = / twedđař / twedđiri / NA *awedđař* 'to get lost'  
 weddi interjection  
 weħd- 'alone'  
 wellah 'by God!'  
 wi 'who' (interrogative)  
 wi ~ wiř prohibitive particle, see 13.6.1  
 wiss ~ uss formative of ordinal numbers, see 10.1.1  
 wqeř / = / wqie / tewqie / = 'to happen'  
 wřadi 'my children' (used by older women to refer to younger people who are not her children)  
 wsee / = / wsie (no Imperfective) 'to be many'  
 wš / wši~a / wši / tišč / = / NA *timekša* 'to give'  
 wvet / wti~a / wti / ššař / ššiř 'to hit'  
 wzen / = / wzin / wezzen / = / NA *rewzen* 'to weigh'

## X

x ~ xef ~ xaf- 'on' (preposition)  
 xaci / xwači 'maternal aunt'

*xad* ~ *xa* non-real particle  
 emphasizing more certainty  
*xaři* ~ *xwaři* 'maternal uncle'  
*xbeš* / = / *xbiš* / *xebbeš* / = / NA *axbaš*  
 'to scratch'  
*xdeb* / = / *xđib* / *xetđeb* / = / NA  
*axđab* 'to ask the hand of a girl'  
*xđem* / = / *xđim* / *xedđem* / = / NA  
*řxedmeť* 'to work'  
*xedžeš* / = / = / *txedžaš* / *txedžiš* / NA  
*axedžaš* 'to pay'  
*xellet* / = / = / *txellať* / *txellit* / NA  
*axelleť* ~ *axedžeď* 'to mix'  
*xemmem* / = / = / *txemmem* /  
*txemmem* / NA *axemmem* 'to think,  
 to ponder'  
*xemmeř* / = / = / *txemmař* / *txemmiř*  
 / NA *axemmeř* 'to save, to keep'  
*xemmežtaš* ~ *xemmežtašqa* 'fifteen'  
 (the form *xemmežtašqa* is used  
 before a few nouns such as 'year')  
*xemmi*, *xemminni* 'when'  
 (conjunction)  
*xemsa* ~ *xems* 'five' (the form *xems*  
 is used before a few nouns such  
 as 'year')  
*xemsin* 'fifty'  
*xenni* 'then' (adverb)  
*xesř* / = / = / *txeř* / = 'to have to'  
 (followed by an indirect object  
 pronoun, e.g. *itxeř-assen ad swen*  
 'they have to drink.')

*xeyyeq* / = / = / *txeyyaq* / *txeyyiq* /  
 NA *axeyyeq* 'to be angry, to be  
 sad'  
*xizzu* (collective); *txizzut* / *txizzuťin*  
 'carrot'  
*xmi*, *xminni* 'when' (conjunction)  
*xřa* / = / *xři* / *xedža* / *xedži* / NA  
*xedžu* 'to leave a place, to  
 wander'  
*xřeq* / = / *xřiq* / *xedžeq* / = 'to be born'  
*xs* / = / = / *txes* / = / NA *tximexsa* 'to  
 want, to love'  
*xšaa* / = / = / *xesšaa* / = / NA  
*txesšaťat* 'to loose, to damage'  
*xyaa* 'aha, allright'  
*xzaa* / = / = / *xezzaa* / = / NA *řxezrať*  
 'to look'

**Y**

*ya* (followed by a noun in the  
 annexed state) exclamative  
 particle 'what a', e.g. *ya weyyur*  
 'what a donkey!'  
*yaađ* / = / = / *yarređ* / = 'to wear'  
*yallah* ~ *yalleh* 'come on!'  
*yemma* 'my mother'  
*yis (u-)* / *iysan (ye-)* 'stallion, horses'  
*yum* / *iyam* 'day' (only used in  
 counting)  
*yumayen* 'two days' (adverb)  
*yutuň* 'Youtube'

## Z, Ž

żąą / żri~a / żri / żarr / = 'to see, to check'  
 żdey / = / zdiy / zeddey / = / NA tazeddixt 'to live'  
 zeyyed / = / = / tzeyyed / = 'to give birth'  
 zeggʷami ~ zegga 'from the moment, since' (conjunction)  
 zem̥ / = / = / tzemma / tzemmi / NA ażemmi 'to squeeze, to press'  
 zem̥maa / = (only perfective) 'to be able to'  
 zeema 'as if, like' (adverb)  
 zi ~ zzi ~ zeg ~ zegg ~ zeggʷ ~ zzay- 'from'  
 zid 'proceed, go on' (interjection)  
 zři |zřy| / = / = / zedři / = / NA azřay 'to turn something'  
 zu / = / = / tzu / = / NA țazuť 'to bark (dog)'  
 zzat 'before'  
 zzenqet / zznaqi 'street'  
 zzen / = / = / zznuza / zznuzi / NA azenzi 'to sell'  
 żżer / = / = / teżżer / = / NA ażzař 'to lie down'  
 zzešt 'oil'  
 żżehd 'power, strength'  
 zzin 'beauty' (this essentially abstract word can also be used to

refer to beautiful people, both male and female, similar to English 'she is a beauty')  
 zzman 'earlier times, the past'  
 zzu / = / = / tezzu / = / NA țazzut 'to plant'

## Ž

žaa- ~ žar- 'between'  
 žahed / = / žihed / tžahed / tžihed / NA lžihad 'to perform the Jihad'  
 žeddi / řežduđ 'grandfather'  
 žiž (u-) / ižažzen 'pin'  
 žmee / = / žmee / žem mee / = / NA ažem mee 'to gather, to collect'  
 žž / žži~a / žži / težža / težži / NA twažžit 'to let, to leave'  
 žžaqaf / řežruf 'big rock'  
 žžadž / žžudž / = / tžadža / tžidži / NA țžadžiť 'to swear'  
 žžawen / žžiwen / = / tyawan / tyiwin / NA tyawant 'to be full, to be satisfied (from eating)'  
 žžidid 'new'  
 žženn / žžnun 'spirit, djinn'  
 žžib / řežbub 'pocket'

## ε

eąąd / = / = / earręd / = / NA aeąąd 'to invite'  
 ead 'still, not yet' (adverb)

*ɛam* 'one year (adverb), year (in counting)  
*ɛamayen* 'two years' (adverb)  
*ɛawed* / = / *ɛiwed* / *teawad* / *teiwid* /  
 NA *æawed* 'to tell, to recount'  
*ɛawed* 'again' (adverb)  
*ɛawen* / = / *ɛiwen* / *teawan* / *teiwin* /  
 NA *řemeawnet*, *lmueawana* 'to help'  
*ɛayen* / = / *ɛiyen* / *teayan* / *teiyin* 'to wait for'  
*ɛazib* 'astonishing' (adverb)  
*ɛbaq* / = / *ɛebbaq* / = / NA *aebbaq* (measuring) ~ *řeebaret* (fooling)  
 'to measure, to fool'  
*ɛdeř* / = / *ɛdiř* / *seddeř* / = / NA *ædař* ~ *řeedřan* 'to make, to repair'  
*ɛdu* / = / = / *ɛddu* / = / 'to pass'  
*ɛellem* / = / *teellam* / *teellim* / NA *æellem* 'to teach'  
*ɛemmaq* / = / = / *teemmaq* / = / NA *æemmaq* 'to fill'  
*ɛemmaqas* 'never'  
*ɛemmi* / *ɛumumi* 'paternal uncle'  
*ɛenti* / *ɛwanti* 'paternal aunt'  
*ɛess* / = / = / *teess* / *teess* / NA *ṭaessast* 'to guard, to keep an eye on'  
*ɛeşşeb* / = / = / *teeşşab* / *teeşşib* / NA *æeşşeb* 'to be angry'

*ɛešra* ~ *ɛšqa* 'ten' (the form *ɛšqa* is used before a few nouns such as 'year')  
*ɛfes* / = / *ɛfis* / *ɛeffes* / = / NA *aefas* 'to step (on)'  
*ɛfu* / = / = / *ɛeffu* / = / 'to forgive'  
*ɛini* 'probably' (adverb)  
*ɛiš* / = / = / *teiš* / = / NA *lmaeiša* 'to live'  
*ɛišrin* 'twenty'  
*ɛizz* / = / = / *teizza* / *teizzi* / NA *řemeizzeš* 'to be loved'; used with the preposition *x*, e.g. *icizz xasen* 'they are fond of him'.  
*ɛlaxaṭar* ~ *elaxaṭaq* 'because' (conjunction)  
*ɛqeř* / = / *eqib* / *teeqqab* / *teeqqib* / NA *æeqab* 'to return'  
*ɛqeř* / = / *eqiř* / *eeqqer* / = / NA *æqar* 'to remember, to recognize'  
*ɛzizi* / *ɛmumi*, *ewazizi* 'paternal uncle'  
*ɛžeb* / = / *ɛžib* / *teežib* / = / NA *æžab* 'to like'; the subject is the thing liked; the person who likes it is expressed by an IO pronoun, e.g. *iteežib-ayi tteffah* 'I like apples'; *itežib-ayi ţhař* 'I am pleased (lit. like the situation)'.